

WHAT THE COMMUNISTS DID

by JOSEPH NORTH

AUGUST 14
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NEW MASSES

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CARTELS AND FREE ENTERPRISE

by JAMES S. ALLEN

THE FUTURE BRITAIN FACES

by R. PALME DUTT

WHAT ABOUT WARTIME STRIKES?

by LEWIS MERRILL

THE FIERY CROSS

Short Stories by LEONORA SWEETLAND

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

As we entrained at Los Angeles for our trip back east, the big news of the day was the British election returns. The people of Los Angeles, like those of other cities, were jubilant over the results, of course. Friends greeted each other with, "Isn't it wonderful?" and no further reference or elaboration was necessary. The Pullman-riding gentry, however, viewed the Labor Party victory with palpable misgivings. One portly passenger (he told me later that he was a Chicago stock broker) opined to several of his scotch-and-soda companions that the news would give the stock market a terrific jolt, and that the stability of Europe was threatened by the defeat of Churchill. The conversation among the group of four or five for the next several hours went something like this:

STOCK BROKER (continuing): That's the common people for you. Here's a man that took hold and led them through the toughest five years of their existence, but the minute they're in the clear, they kick him out. People have short memories. Why, if we treated one another that way in business, how long could we have confidence in each other?

SECOND MAN: Did you read where Rankin said that it was due to the influence of the British Reds?

STOCK BROKER: Maybe so, but when you come right down to it, those union guys are all alike.

THIRD MAN: Now that England has gone socialist, I guess this country is the only capitalist country left. France, England, Austria, Poland, Russia—the whole damn world is socialist. Looks like we'll have to carry the ball until England and some of the others get back to their senses.

FOURTH MAN: If you think we got labor troubles here, wait till you see what happens over there. This election is going to encourage every crackpot outfit in Europe. Every worker thinks he's got the world by the tail. The employer won't have a chance.

FIFTH MAN: If the British election proves one thing, it proves that you can go socialist without bloody revolution. It sure shows up the Russians. Here they have achieved practically the same thing without firing a shot, and not only that, they can still make room for the royal family.

SECOND MAN: You've got something there. Great people, the British. They do things our way.

THIRD MAN: Yeah, maybe they proved something for us after all. Certainly made a bum out of Stalin and the rest of the Russians.

STOCK BROKER: Maybe, but I still think they're all alike. Give 'em a finger and they take you for a ride. I think Churchill

learned his lesson. I think he knows now where democracy ends and socialism begins.

Later as the newspapers of the various cities made their way aboard, papers from Denver, Cheyenne, Salt Lake City, Chicago, Pittsburgh, etc., it was amazing to see how closely the editorials followed the arguments of the club-car politicians. It was all there. The ingratitude of the electorate of Great Britain, their lack of appreciation for the greatness of Churchill, how the dissident elements of Europe would be encouraged by the election results, how the United States was the last capitalist, and hence democratic, country left, how the British proved that a country could go socialist like a gentleman, provided they had the proper training, etc., etc.

IN CONTRAST, from the antipodes, political as well as geographic, comes the following letter:

"The enclosed money order is a small gift from three officers of the Australian army who for a long time have had a very deep respect for your magazine. For years, we've watched your annual drive for dollars, and wondered whether we mightn't be able to help, and here for the first time, we've done something about it.

"It's very hard to reach you with subscriptions these days because of the currency restrictions, and I'm afraid that my sub, for one, is expiring fast. I guess we can't expect you to carry non-paying subscribers, so we'll have to borrow or steal copies. Just as soon as it's possible to remit dollars to you again, I with my two fellow-donors, will be on your mailing list.

"Meanwhile accept this little contrib with our best wishes. Incidentally, if you consider there's any news value in the fact that three Australian officers (two journalists, one medical officer) in the Solomons (Bougainville, to be exact) write their appreciation of your magazine you are at liberty to use this." J. F.

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WHAT THE COMMUNISTS DID

By JOSEPH NORTH

"Belief in the greatness and dignity of man has been the guiding principle of my life and work. The logic of my life and work leads me therefore to apply for membership in the Communist Party."

—Theodore Dreiser.

A FEW brief weeks ago I returned from travels through wartime Britain, France and Germany; the convoy ran the gauntlet of submarines lurking off Cemetery Lane near Ireland; I watched the buzz-bombs over London and heard the thunder of the V2's; I observed the heroism of the British people who reflected their painful education when they turned the Tories out several days ago; I saw the overwhelming victory of the resistance movement in France during the municipal elections and I stood humbly in Dachau with the proudly incorruptible on V-E Day; I returned home on a troop ship with our wounded and POW's a few days out of concentration camps. I thought of all that I had had the privilege of witnessing these past epochal weeks as I attended the national convention of the Communists in New York several days ago. It was all of a piece. This convention, and the discussion which preceded it, was warp and woof of the pattern I cite above.

The convention demanded that the delegates evidence every whit of courage, integrity and self-sacrifice history requires today. They had come to attempt rectification of a big mistake and to construct a program that would guard, as much as is humanly possible, against ever permitting such a mistake again. They came of their own free will, impelled by the dictates of their political integrity. They sought to conduct their convention upon the fundamental of a Marxist organization—self-criticism. The Philistines of the commercial press have held holiday with that concept this past two months; it has a bizarre quality to them, for those hostile to Marxism will never grasp it. They can never fathom Lenin's dictum that the earmark of a serious Com-

munist Party is its attitude toward self-criticism. "To be able to recognize an error openly, to discover the causes of that error, to analyze the situation which gave rise to it, to examine attentively the means of correcting it . . .," these are the attributes of men who have come to guide their lives by the scientific principles of Marx and Lenin.

A BIG challenge faced the delegates: first and foremost, to create a policy correcting the revision of Marxism of the past year and a half; second, and simultaneously, to root out harmful practices of bureaucracy and opportunist approaches that had crept into the structure over the years and particularly in the past eighteen months; third, to strengthen the leadership with the most capable men and women from the fundamental areas of American life—the factories, the unions, the veterans, the Negroes, the youth; fourth, to clarify aspects of the resolution and program of action adding depth to certain analyses such as those dealing with the nature of the Truman administration, the role of monopoly capitalism, the war against Japan, the struggles of the Negro people and national minorities, the no-strike pledge and the fight for jobs and wages. Finally, to make these changes in a manner that would strengthen the unity of the party, avoid factional dispute and that would also avoid the extremes of over-correction—i.e., a stultifying sectarian approach that would cut the movement from its allies.

How would one summarize the results of the convention? I believe it amounts to an historic achievement, despite certain weaknesses and limitations. It tackled first things first, i.e., fundamental policy. Certain questions regarding the practical program were left unsolved, and this phase of the discussion could certainly have been improved—had there been time and had there been a greater representation of the membership. But these latter two factors were imposed on the convention by ODT restrictions: only ninety-three delegates could attend, and the time was strictly

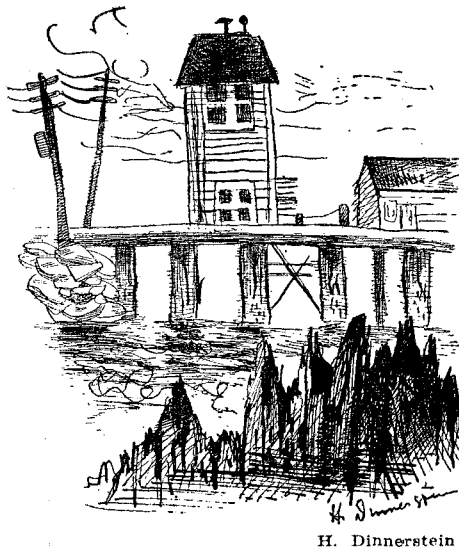
limited. Three days could not exhaust the complex of problems before the delegates; but they laid down a basic approach that should enable them to grapple successfully with these problems in the days to come. They did not shirk their responsibilities.

I WISH every Communist, every workingman, every American of good will, had the opportunity to observe the delegates in that torrid, cramped hall where nobody commented on the discomfort, rapt as they were in the vitality of the proceedings. Plain people they were, as plain as a councilman from Brooklyn named Pete Cacchione. Americans all, they were as Irish as Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, as Jewish as Ben Gold, as Negro as Ben Davis; they were steel and auto and marine, farm and city. Old as Mother Ella Reeve Bloor and young as that twenty-two-year-old veteran, Leon Wofsy, whose call for attention to the crucial problems of the youth inspired every man and woman in the hall. Though only ninety-three were there their deliberations reflected the minds and hearts of thousands of American Communists; practically the entire membership had already, in the multitude of meetings throughout the nation the past two months, registered their overwhelming will. The ninety-three came mandated to repudiate a policy based on a "notorious revision" of Marxism—that science which they recognize as mankind's salvation and as dear to them as life itself. They came to create a new policy that accords with reality: to recognize the grasping role of American imperialism, and what to do about it. Their comrades at the state conventions had already gone on record for the policy outlined in the draft resolution presented by the previous National Committee. Let me say, in passing, that the convention resolutions committee had to sift 5,000 amendments sent by the membership as proposals to strengthen the original draft resolution. It was an index to the released initiative and power of Marxist thought the membership pos-

sessed; a Niagara of unified strength was unleashed when the opportunist dam broke several months ago upon the appearance of the Duclos article, the subsequent draft resolution and the publication of William Z. Foster's letter. He had written this letter January 1944 in profound difference with the position taken by Earl Browder and endorsed by the leaders of the party: the letter was not made public to the membership because of an erroneous conception of unity. The nature of the resolutions, the fruits of genuine democratic discussion, evidenced the real unity existing within the party's ranks today.

The delegates scrutinized their own errors and the sources of those errors; they saw that the roots of the mistake lay in the past when opportunist approaches crept into their thinking and practices during the middle and late thirties and laid the basis for general acceptance of the full revisionist line at the time of Teheran. They chose a leadership deriving from America's grass roots, and recognized the need for collective leadership, recognized the imperative to depart from previous practice wherein one man's leadership was accepted uncritically, and he became the recipient of adulation and "hero-worship" that had nothing in common with Communist approaches. They reconstituted the Communist Party, the prerequisite for regaining its role as a vanguard of the working class and the nation. They adopted an immediate policy that involved the struggle for higher wages within the limits of the no-strike pledge, and including the unceasing campaign for 60,000,000 jobs: they adopted a long-term policy that made abundantly clear to all that although socialism is not the issue today the ultimate solution of our nation's ills lies in a socialist America, and they would continually educate the people of the country along those lines in the course of the daily struggle. In conclusion, most felt they had taken a big step forward, a big step, but only a step, for it is clear that the correction lies in the deeds that flow from the resolution. But they had taken the soundings and repaired the compass; the ship should steer a truer course henceforth.

As NEW MASSES' readers know, some eighteen months ago the Communists accepted Earl Browder's analysis and a program based upon it, that the historic Big Three agreements at Teheran had ushered in an era auguring long-term amity between classes within the capitalist nations—that those who



exploit would exercise their intelligence, their "progressivism," to afford a happier life for those they exploit. This conclusion required the abandonment of basic Marxist principle: it declared Lenin's thesis on imperialism outmoded. It fathered a host of illusions that held down the undeniable achievements of the Communists throughout the war, and that threatened absolute disaster if those illusions continued unpricked. These misconceptions, briefly, involved the illusion that monopoly capitalism in America and Britain could exorcise economic crisis which breeds war; that big business would, in effect, take the initiative to double the wages of American labor in the postwar period in order to maintain production and job levels achieved during the war: that the path to durable peace was relatively smooth. It departed from Marxist science when it gave rise to the illusion that in this historic era monopoly capital was the decisive class and that the workingclass must play a subordinate role. In brief, as Mr. Foster indicated many months ago, it meant accepting the leadership of big business—the same class of economic royalists who, as the resolution declares, "supported the war against Nazi Germany, not because of hatred of fascism or a desire to liberate suffering Europe from the heel of Nazi despotism but because it recognized in Hitler Germany a dangerous imperialist rival determined to rule the world. From the very inception of the struggle against fascism, American finance-capital feared the democratic consequences of defeating Hitler Germany." To repose confidence in this class, the delegates felt, would mean utter betrayal of the Teheran perspectives. That was the surest way of losing the historic promise of Yalta and Teheran. Only by the creation of a powerful, anti-fascist democratic front, based upon

united and vigilant labor, could long-term peace be achieved and fascism prevented from engulfing America.

Delegate after delegate (space does not permit the full recital of their remarks) proved by specific example how this false premise led immediately to a host of practical mistakes: it brought the dissolution of the party and the diminution of the vanguard role of the Communists and the workingclass. It fostered illusions in the trade union field particularly concerning the postwar years; it limited the splendid work the Communists had done in the field of Negro rights; it lost contact with the youth of America. NEW MASSES is preparing a number of articles that will deal with many of these issues fundamentally. Let me here, however, summarize a few of the principal results, details of which you will find in the final form of the resolution:

The delegates and the membership overwhelmingly saw the principal issue as the correct definition of monopoly capitalism today. It is aggressively imperialistic; its decisive sections are not in favor, but are opposed, to the democratic aims of the American people. This reverses the previous position presented by Earl Browder, that the decisive sections of American capitalism could be relied upon as allies in the struggle for democracy, long-term peace, prosperity. To curb the designs of the Economic Royalists requires the formation of the broadest, democratic, anti-fascist front, based upon unified, vigilant labor. That the latter, on a world scale, holds the balance in the question of achieving the agreements of Teheran.

The resolution reaffirmed the war again Japan as a just war, one of national liberation, but it warned against perilous influences in the government, reflecting the designs of American imperialism which seeks a peace that would reconstruct the Mikado-Big Business pattern in Japan to the continued detriment of the colonial people's struggle for freedom.

A more precise definition of the Truman administration was achieved. As NM declared last week, this received consideration as a central question because a faulty estimate of the Rooseveltian role had lent credence to the illusions of the "progressivism" and "intelligence" of American monopoly capitalism. The Truman administration was regarded as a bourgeois-democratic government which, though making concessions to reactionary influences, still responds to the critical pressures of the democratic-labor coalition.

The nature of the Negro question was probed, and its national aspect highlighted. Central in the program of action is emphasis on the fight to safeguard the gains the Negro people won during the war and the past decade, and to extend those gains in terms of social, political and economic equality.

Earnest attention was paid the crucial issues of reconversion, the fight for jobs and higher wages. This struggle must, the delegates agreed, take place within the limits of the no-strike pledge during the war, but it would require the utmost mobilization of labor and its allies; events have more than amply proved that big business will not move toward a progressive solution of these issues unless pressed in that direction: the question of the returning veterans and their reintegration into American life, based upon their alliance with labor, received foremost attention: the problem of growing anti-Semitism too, came in for critical appraisal. Other issues discussed were those dealing with youth, women, farm, small business.

I MENTIONED at the outset that I felt this convention was of a piece with the tremendous events marching across the world, some of which I had witnessed in Europe; this was part of a world process in which the democratic masses of humanity, strengthened by the outcome of the war, were girding themselves to maintain their gains, to drive for new ones. That demanded clarity, utmost energy in organization. The common men of all lands, graduates of the hard school of war, were bringing their infinite energies into play. We cannot mistake the currents that are moving through the world as we watch events on the Continent, in China, the recent elections in Britain. I recall vividly the several meetings of the national committee of the British Communist Party I had the privilege to attend. There I saw the drive, the initiative of the rank-and-file and the close interplay between leadership and membership; the exchange of ideas, the submission of all plans to the constructive criticism of the party mass. That fundamental

Marxist quality had been diminishing in the development of the Communist movement here due to a complex of factors, some of which I have already indicated. The recognition of this basic lack stood in the forefront at the convention. You were struck first and foremost by the democratic proceedings—the give-and-take which dominated the discussion. Few took anything or anybody for granted.

I recall especially the Negro panel which I attended (and I understand the same quality characterized the other panels—youth, veterans, labor, farm). Many delegates spoke, Negro and white—from the South, from Chicago, from Harlem, from the Coast. Deep convictions, rock-bottom sincerity. As a matter of fact the Negro issue assumed a central place in the proceedings. One can readily understand why. The policy of revisionism, of concession to big business meant, in practice, an unfulfilled struggle against the bitter inequities the Negroes suffered during the war. Theirs are the most burning among many crucial ques-

The Revival of the Communist Party

The following is the preamble to the Constitution of the newly reconstituted Communist Party, adopted by the Party convention July 28.

THE Communist Party of the United States is the political party of the American working class, basing itself upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism. It champions the immediate and fundamental interests of the workers, farmers and all who labor by hand and brain against capitalist exploitation and oppression. As the advanced party of the working-class, it stands in the forefront of this struggle.

The Communist Party upholds the achievements of American democracy and defends the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and popular liberties. It uncompromisingly fights against imperialism and colonial oppression, against racial, national and religious discrimination, against Jim Crowism, anti-Semitism and all forms of chauvinism.

The Communist Party struggles for the complete destruction of fascism and for a durable peace. It seeks to safeguard the welfare of the people and the nation, recognizing that the workingclass, through its trade unions and by its independent political action, is the most consistent fighter for democracy, national freedom and social progress.

The Communist Party holds as a basic principle that there is an identity of interest which serves as a common bond uniting the workers of all lands. It recog-

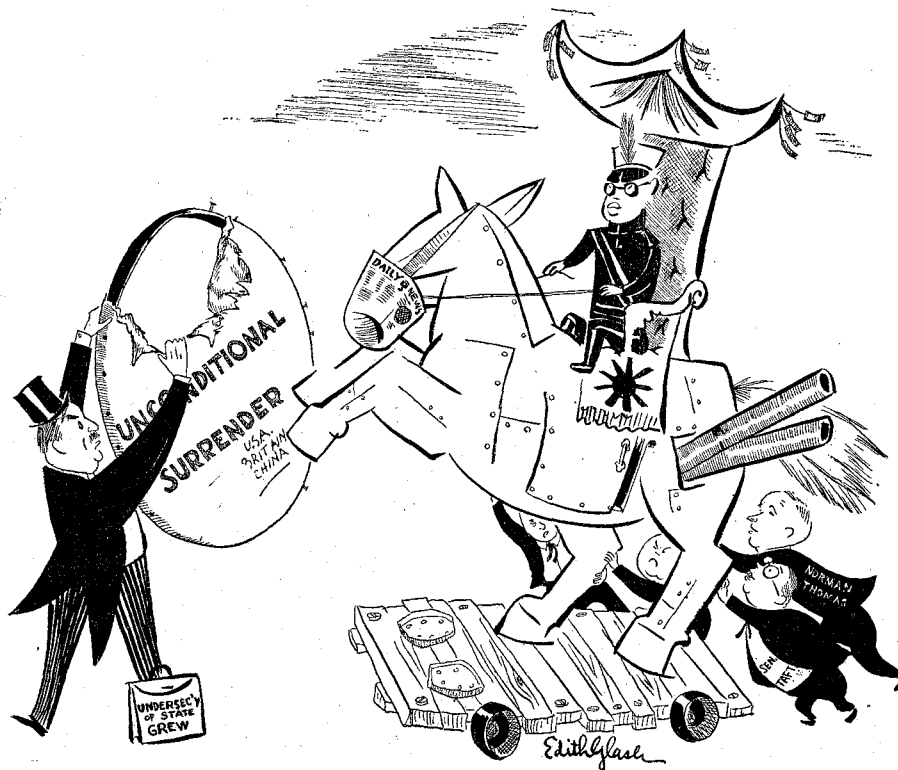
nizes further that the true national interests of our country and the cause of peace and progress require the solidarity of all freedom-loving peoples and the continued and ever closer cooperation of the United Nations.

The Communist Party recognizes that the final abolition of exploitation and oppression, of economic crises and unemployment, of reaction and war, will be achieved only by the socialist reorganization of society—by the common ownership and operation of the national economy under a government of the people led by the workingclass.

The Communist Party, therefore, educates the workingclass, in the course of its day-to-day struggles, for its historic mission, the establishment of socialism. Socialism, the highest form of democracy, will guarantee the full realization of the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and will turn the achievements of labor, science and culture to the use and enjoyment of all men and women.

IN THE struggle for democracy, peace and social progress, the Communist Party carries forward the democratic traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln and Frederick Douglass and the great workingclass traditions of Sylvis, Debs and Ruthenberg. It fights side by side with all who join in this cause.

For the advancement of these principles, the Communist Party of the United States establishes the basic laws of its organization in the following Constitution:



"Hon. Jockey," by Edith Glaser.

tions; their sons bear the deep scars of Jim Crow in the Army; they see the reconversion period looming with "big lay-offs that are already taking place; the consequent threat to their wartime gains. Because they are the newest recruits into many industries the seniority provisions won by organized labor would in many cases, exclude them, and once again they witness the danger of wholesale relegation to the ranks of unskilled categories.

It was easy to understand why the party's dissolution in the South created such a painful sensation at the New York State convention. As the heart-rending speech of a young Negro woman recently from Alabama indicated, this was the party, the only party in America that offered hope, offered a basis for effective struggle against semi-slavery. And it was dissolved in the very part of America where it was most needed. This dissolution was part and parcel of the entire trend toward liquidation of the Communist movement—it could not be regarded as a thing-in-itself. It afforded the most dramatic illustration of a revisionist policy in life.

I shall never forget the Negro delegate, a trade-unionist, from Winston-Salem, who spoke simply the needs of his people: their hunger for knowledge, information, ideological weapons in their fight. "We do not have much learning," he said. "Most of us go to school six, eight weeks a year and never get past

third or fourth grade." He pleaded for more explicit attention to their problems and for its more simple expression, for literature written in a form acceptable to his people. He told how they eagerly turned to the *Daily Worker* and similar publications for specific attention to their struggles and how, too often, they were disappointed. He described the current efforts to turn white against black in his community, to destroy the union's base. And he recounted the zealous, self-sacrificing work of the Negro youth in building the union and shouldering the day-to-day issues. "We wanted to carry on a daily fight against those trying to destroy OPA. We looked every day in our press to get exact information who they were. But when we couldn't find it, I figured out myself that it must be Hoover and his folks. And I told my people that. Then they immediately understood, and helped in the fight to save OPA." He pleaded for leadership that had close ties with rank-and-file, that spoke their language and understood their needs. Too often, he warned, those who cross the Mason-Dixon line from the South grow away from their kin, acquire habits and language that separate them from their brothers. His statements struck hard, deep, and they were accepted in the spirit given, constructive criticism about which something should be done and immediately. For there is a "Mason-Dixon" line in organization that is more than

geographical—the line where leadership becomes separated from those who elect it; when separation leads toward bureaucracy and its consequent ills. As the resolution indicated, opportunism fed bureaucracy and the latter made it possible for acceptance of the full revisionist line.

So the delegates asked hard, searching questions and sought collectively to find the answers. This spirit, this new mode of work, distinguished this convention from most others of past years. A true commingling of ideas from above and below manifested itself, the beginnings of real democratic centralism, the fusion of rank-and-file with leadership. Yet as Mr. Foster warned and as delegates emphasized, it could only be regarded as a beginning. Many bureaucratic practices linger stubbornly on, unconsciously, and the membership and leaders must be ever on guard. Self-criticism is not a property with which men are born; it must be learned, studied, mastered. The two-way street of democratic centralism is not as simple as city traffic; those who pass that way must be constantly vigilant.

I thought of that when Earl Browder spoke for an hour defending his thesis before the delegates. They expected some expression of self-criticism. They heard none. A vast gulf revealed itself between Mr. Browder and the delegates when he contended, in discussing the phase of the resolution dealing with the Japanese war "that official American policy, whatever temporary vacillations may appear, is pressing toward the unity and democratization of China." That idea ran counter to the beliefs of the entire convention. The delegates had unanimously considered the war on Japan a just war of liberation, but they realistically recognized the perils before the nation. A number of delegates spoke in instant disagreement with Mr. Browder, voicing their opinions emphatically. And Eugene Dennis, member of the secretariat, trenchantly expressed the unanimous sentiment when he warned of the grave dangers of a shabby peace that would reconstruct a postwar Japan retaining its present most dangerous aspects, and laying the basis for future Pacific wars. Mr. Dennis posed the imperative policy of real unconditional surrender which adds up to "total destruction of the Japanese war potential, as well as the prosecution of all war criminals, including the emperor." He also urged a powerful campaign for an American policy toward China based on Yen-an's proposals and policies.

(Continued on page 30)

MATTER OF FACT . . . by LEWIS MERRILL

WHAT ABOUT STRIKES?

THE labor movement is bubbling with the question of wartime strikes.

Is it because labor is not in support of the war against Japan? No, labor is convinced that the interests of the American people and of world democracy demand the crushing of Japan. Labor does not want to let up now when Japan is wobbling and ready for the *coup de grace*.

Is it because labor feels that the no-strike pledge should not be maintained? Again the answer is No! Labor is doing its level best to keep its no-strike pledge, but the economic questions the workers are facing—basically jobs and pay—are not being given attention and their situation is deteriorating day by day. The passivity of the Truman administration and the increasingly rigid attitude of the employers are driving the workers out on strike because they haven't found any other way of remedying the situation.

This is not a new problem. We've been watching it grow for the past year. Particularly in the past several months this column has tried to describe the policies of the government and of the employers that were creating the condition in which widespread strikes would occur. Now the chicken is coming home to roost.

Nevertheless, a strike today is not smart trade unionism. At any time a strike is a weapon of last resort. We have not reached the point yet where even by pre-war standards we could say this is the tactic called for. It's an old rule among trade unionists that a strike should be called when the employer least wants it. But the main strategy of reaction today is to provoke a strike wave. They want it most right now.

There is no question in my mind that the powerful employers and their governmental stooges who are seeking to drive labor out on strike are doing so because they are convinced that through strikes they will be able to sap labor's strength, divide it from the armed forces and other sections of the population, secure the passage of drastic anti-labor legislation, and cripple labor's ability to influence the 1946 congressional elections. Then, these employers hope, they will be in a position to dominate the 1948 presidential elections and place reaction firmly in the saddle. That's when they will really go to work on labor.

THE workers, even where they do not see all these facts clearly, nevertheless sense that the employers are getting ready for the impending struggles they propose to impose on labor. The Labor-Management Charter for all practical purposes has been revoked by the employers. The US Chamber of Commerce now is supporting the identical anti-labor principles embodied in the Ball-Burton-Hatch bill, which among other things is conceived by the employers as an aid in their present fight against labor. This is how the July

issue of *American Business*, a favorite management magazine describes it: "We are heading into a wave of labor trouble which bids fair to exceed any in all our history. . . . The present situation is worse than usual simply because organized labor is stronger than usual, and corporation profits are larger than usual. To deal with the situation three Senators have introduced into Congress a bill to revamp the Wagner act . . . it will be a sword hanging over the head of militant unions. . . . It has found considerable support among the veterans." Need we wonder then that the workers, in the face of this employer policy, are over-anxious to move before their opponent gets too strong and while the workers still have jobs? For take-home pay is going down and unemployment is mounting.

These are some of the reasons why the workers are being provoked into striking. Nevertheless, when they do so they are endangering the labor movement and the nation. But many workers are not heeding these arguments and are going out on strike. What do we do then?

It seems to me that if these employer-inspired strikes are to be halted then one thing we must do is make it clear to the employer that he can't win these strike struggles. Once a strike has broken out, no argument short of slapping his ears back ever convinces an employer. At this time, if there is anything worse than a strike, it's a lost strike! The sole exception I would make would be for plants producing critical war materials. In that case there is only one issue and that's getting the workers back on the job.

The over-all measurement, if one is needed, of a proper policy in these specific cases, is what will serve the national interest. It is against the national interest that the employer strategy of strikes should prove successful and thus feed their belligerency by indicating that the labor movement as a whole will be indifferent while they go to work on each union, one by one. Obviously, however, the jurisdictional strike in the West Coast shipyards which stopped work on ships badly needed in the Pacific was against the national interest. But the news drivers strike in New York, by the same token, deserved support.

We must face the fact that if swift efforts are not made to deal with underlying conditions, then there is going to be a rash of wartime strikes and a brand new national situation will be created. Not only the labor movement and our country will be in the soup, the fate of the world will be involved.

The CIO Executive Board facing these very facts has put forward a full program which embodies the main demands of the entire labor movement. It supports the Truman unemployment compensation proposals, a twenty percent wage increase, supports the full employment bill, the sixty-five-cent minimum wage, a guaranteed annual wage and other proposals. Under Philip Murray's steady leadership it is out to win every community and the country as a whole in support of this program and to get every American who loves his country to join with labor in insisting that Congress act now. Only if the CIO's program is taken up and fought for will we be able to avert this crisis being created for us by the ruthless employers who dominate our economic life and whose blind hatred of labor and democracy is the gravest internal danger we face.

THE FUTURE BRITAIN FACES

By R. PALME DUTT

London (by cable).

JULY 5, 1945, will rank with V-E Day for the people of this country as the sign of a great liberation. V-E Day was the day of military victory over fascism. July 5 was the day of electoral victory over Tory reaction, the half-brother of fascism. The verdict of the people has swept aside all the predictions of the prophets and the calculations of the reactionary intriguers. With singular thoroughness the electors have made short work of the Tory caretaker of the national government, inflicted defeat at the polls on thirteen ministers of cabinet rank and sixteen other ministers (including Amery, Grigg, and Bracken—Simon, Halifax and Hoare not being available) and purged Parliament of 187 of the 251 Tory MP's who voted for Munich, removing such notorious figures as Lord Dunglass, Major Petherick, Sir Herbert Williams, Captain MacEwen, Wardlaw-Mikne and Erskine Hill.

A grand clearing-out operation has taken place. At last the turn of the Labor Party has come, for which generations of the labor movement have worked and waited, to form a Labor government with a parliamentary majority. A new political situation opens.

This glorious political leap forward in Britain is the sequel of military victory in the people's war of the United Nations against fascism. The contrast between 1918 and 1945 is inescapable. In 1918 the snap election following on victory in a reactionary imperialist war produced the Parliament of "hardfaced men," of Tory profiteers, whose ascendancy was to continue almost unbroken for twenty-seven years. In 1945, the snap election following on victory in a progressive war of liberation against fascism destroyed that Tory majority after twenty-seven years of domination and produced the first Labor majority.

For fascism and the friends of fascism in Germany and all over the world this popular election victory in Britain comes as a blow to all their hopes. The Nazis whisper into the willing ears of the *Daily Mail* that the electoral verdict of the British people is an "awful mistake." The Germans are just dumbfounded that Britain should have deserted Mr. Churchill. "To me it sounds like awful ingratitude and a mistake," a retired Wehrmacht officer said to me. "We Germans think now that Mr.

Churchill is one of the greatest men in the world and if he had been our leader we certainly should not have turned him out after what he has done. It's really most puzzling." The ingratitude of the British people to Mr. Churchill is the theme of every fascist journal. Similar lamentations echo from the press of Franco and Salazar and the Greek royalists and quislings.

The Tory fiasco is that no greater blunder was made by the entire inept Tory election campaign than the attempt to imitate the tactics which Lloyd George had used with masterly, if unscrupulous and ultimately suicidal cunning, in 1918. Thereby Toryism revealed how completely it had failed to understand either the character of the war or the temper of the people. With slavish plagiarism, the would-be smart boys of the Tory machine, the Brackens and Beaverbrooks, sought to imitate all the outward trappings of the Lloyd George success—the snap election called within a few days of the victory celebrations, the coupon letter, the "national" appeal, the noisy parade of "the man who won the—" etc.

The Beaverbrook, Bracken, Churchill election technique, despite use of the most modern machinery and technical methods—especially broadcasting—was oddly antiquated in political content. They solemnly sought to exhume all the exploded stunts and scares which had done good service in previous elections but had now become comic-opera jokes and were genuinely surprised when their most hair-raising efforts were received with ribald laughter. They sought to stage a grand constitutional crisis about the constitution of the Labor Party which might have aroused the mild interest of Mr. Gladstone or Lord Palmerston, but stirred not a ripple in an electorate grimly intent on houses and postwar employment. The more they paraded the methods of the circus and the stunt the more they repelled the electors. They really appeared to believe that the millions of men and women who had been through the fires of war against fascism were the same as the holiday crowd which had cheered Munich and could be as cheaply fooled. July 26 undecieved them.

The electors did well to reject decisively not only the Munichites and Tory diehards but equally the irrespon-

sible adventurism of the Beaverbrook, Bracken, Churchill trio, which appeared to treat politics as a succession of stunts, showed no grasp of or concern for the serious problems of British reconstruction and could coolly proclaim, as in Bracken's speeches, that the basic industries of Britain did not matter and that all that was necessary was a few luxury industries and ever extending service occupations—in short to complete the transformation of Britain into a pleasure park for the international rentier and the American tourist. From this characteristic final policy of Tory degeneracy with its accompanying riot of political adventurism and gambling with the future of the people, the healthy sense of the electors has saved Britain.

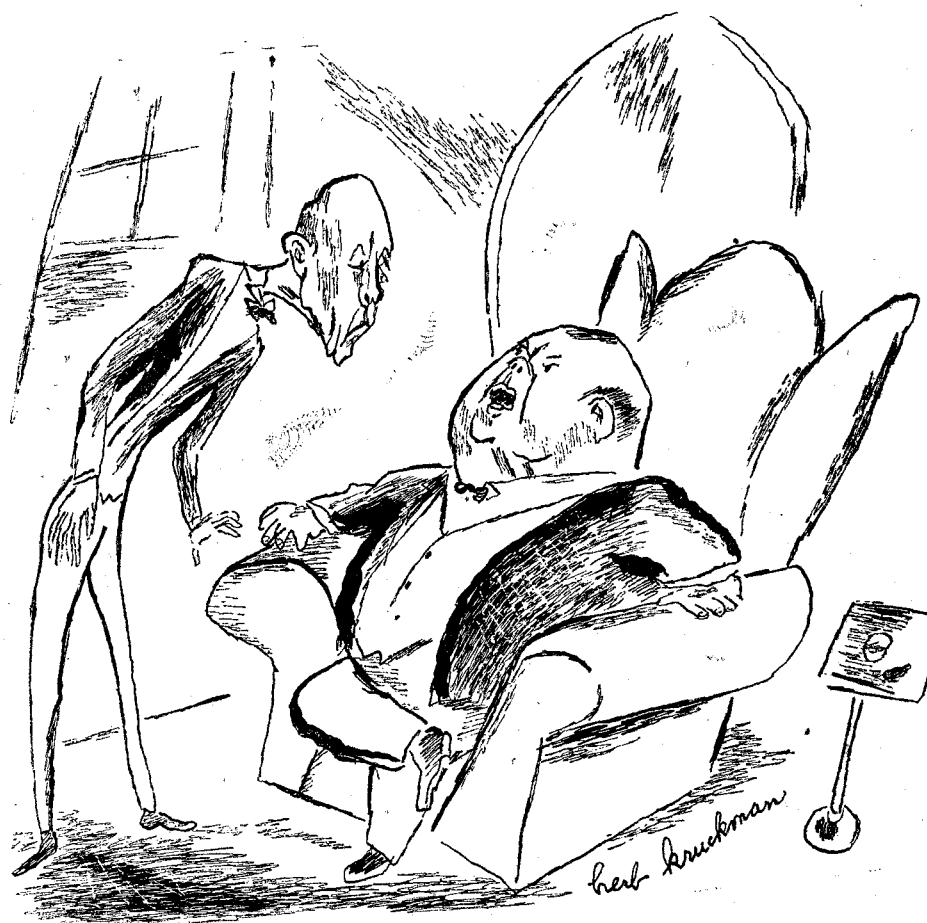
DOES this clumsy electoral technique of the Tory machine in the present election or the undoubtedly powerful advance of public opinion from the shame and bankruptcy of a quarter of a century of Toryism mean that Toryism is finished as a political force? It would be obviously premature to draw any such conclusions. Toryism still mustered 10,000,000 votes or two-fifths of those voting. The deceptive electoral system, operating this time in favor of the Labor Party, exaggerates the reduction of Tory strength in terms of parliamentary seats, but the same fickle electoral system could with the relatively small turnover of 1,000,000 votes reverse the position. The political machine of Toryism is bound to be renewed and reorganized in the light of the lessons of the Beaverbrook bungle. The great propertied interests behind Toryism remain powerful and will use their power to weaken and hinder the execution of the Labor program and to exploit every difficulty with view to throwing discredit on the Labor government and the Labor majority. A very great consolidation of Labor and progressive forces is thus essential to safeguard and make lasting the victory over fascism.

Liberalism also suffered in this election a defeat of its plans to achieve a great revival and become the balancing force in politics. Out of 307 candidates only eleven were returned, halving its already low representation in the last Parliament. The fate of this party which, less than forty years ago, won 380 seats or very nearly the equivalent

of the present party votes and now has sunk to eleven seats, is a lesson to all those who seek to bridge the gulf of the class struggle with empty conciliatory phrases. The final battle is between Toryism and Marxism. The Liberal Party under Sinclair and Beveridge aspired to an independent role, dreamed pipedreams of becoming the balancing party and offered the electorate an unsustaining diet of neither capitalism nor socialism—neither private enterprise nor nationalization, etc. The electorate rejected this nauseous concoction of emptiness with alacrity.

Nevertheless, this catastrophic defeat of Liberal aspirations to an independent political role should not give rise to illusions that Liberalism is yet finished in the political life of this country. Once again the weighted electoral system gives fantastically unjust representation to Liberalism in Parliament so that it takes 207,000 Liberal voters to have one MP as against 30,000 Labor voters and 46,000 Tory voters. The Liberal vote of two and a quarter millions represented an increase of three-quarters of a million over the last election, and if this were extended from the 300 constituencies contested to the full 600 and over it might possibly represent 4,000,000 Liberal voters in the country. Such an element, which still has its social basis for existence, has the right to play its part in the political life of the country, but only within a wider popular combination in which the leadership must necessarily lie with the organized workingclass. Similarly, a wise Labor leadership will recognize that even in this election the combined Tory and Liberal vote still exceeds the Labor vote and that for the future it will not be enough to trust to the hazards of a precarious and undemocratic electoral system, but it will be desirable to build a broader alliance around the leadership of the Labor movement.

In the final aggregate vote for the 627 seats announced on July 26, Labor obtained 11.9 million votes out of the total 24.9 million votes cast, or 48.5 percent, the Tories including Conservatives, Nationals or Liberal Nationals, 9.9 millions or forty percent, and Liberals 2.2 millions or nine percent. On this basis Labor has received 390 of the 627 seats or sixty-two percent, the Tories 210 seats or thirty-three percent, and the Liberals eleven or under two percent. And Labor has an effective parliamentary majority of over 140 over all others. On the face of it, the tactics of the electoral isolation of the Labor Party and the refusal of any progressive



"You can look me in the eye, Higgbee, and tell me you voted Labor Party?"

alliance have at the present stage been crowned with success in winning the absolute Labor majority desired, possibly to the surprise of some of its authors, and will therefore, for the moment, have all the prestige of success. The fact, however, that a Labor vote of just under half the total could secure three-fifths of the seats does not prove that a Labor and progressive unity could not have inflicted a still more overwhelming and decisive rout of Toryism.

PUBLIC opinion tests immediately preceding the election indicated that the biggest popular support would have been for a popular front against Toryism. Thus the Gallup poll in May 1945, found that a popular front of Labor, Liberals, Communists and Common Wealth would have immediately won fifty-five percent of the population, while in the event of parties contesting separately, the Gallup poll in June 1945, found forty-five percent for Labor and thirty-seven percent for the Tories. The decision of the Labor Party conference in May, narrowly rejecting the consideration of unity by 95,000 votes and indicating an overwhelming rank and file support for unity where organizations had taken the opinions of their membership, cast the die and determined the character of the election. This de-

cision meant that the effective choice of the election would be between Toryism and Labor with virtual elimination of other parties, and that if the electorate wished to clear out the Tories they would have to vote Labor or run the risk of losing their votes by division. The Communist and Common Wealth parties recognized the position by withdrawing the majority of their candidates, contesting mainly in constituencies difficult for themselves and supporting Labor elsewhere. The electorate recognized the position by voting overwhelmingly for Labor and, with rare exceptions, ignoring other parties or reducing them to a low vote.

Under these conditions the Labor vote rose from the forty-five percent available in early June to 48.5 percent, though not to the fifty-five percent or over available for the popular front. It was a close gamble, but under the conditions of the electoral system it came off.

Before assuming that this success has settled the issue for all time, disproved the demand for Labor and progressive unity in the recent election as misplaced or superfluous or has disposed of the case for democratic electoral reform, Labor supporters will do well to consider more fully the conditions of the problem and the possibilities of future

political developments. Tory opinion, especially moderate Tory opinion like the *Times*, has hailed with especial emphasis the reestablishment of the two-party system as the main gain of the election and heaved an obvious sigh of relief. The grounds for their satisfaction are transparent. They assume with confidence as the necessary concomitant of the two-party system the swing of the pendulum and therefore the automatic future return of Toryism. They assume a long period of peaceful alternation of Toryism and Labor, preventing the execution of any long-term Labor program and guaranteeing the status quo. This is obviously not the outlook of Labor supporters. We desire the permanent ascendancy of Labor, the labor movement leading the majority of the nation in the basic social reconstruction and the reducing to impotence and final disappearance of Toryism.

This will require a broader basis of support than 48.5 percent. Full workingclass unity in the political field will be more than ever essential, and it may also be necessary to consider in the future new forms of broader unity or association with the labor movement. It is in the light of this general political situation that the role of the Communist Party in the election must be seen.

THE main task of the Communist Party was to rally unity behind Labor for the defeat of Toryism while at the same time striving in a limited field for increased Communist representation. In the conditions of the election, the effective choice before the mass of the electorate was between Toryism and Labor. Hence the visible direct electoral results won by Communism were small and not a measure of its real political strength. The foremost campaigning work of the Communist Party during the ten years between the elections, as well as during the election, in exposing Munichism and Toryism and rallying unity for the defeat of Toryism bore fruit in helping build up the Labor majority, but the same conditions restricted a direct Communist vote. Nevertheless two seats were won, 102,000 votes recorded for twenty-one candidates and a strong basis for unity established in many areas in the common campaign for a Labor majority.

For the first time a Labor government with a parliamentary majority has now been established in Britain. Generations of Socialists and pioneers of workingclass representation have striven to achieve this aim. Marxism has always recognized this as an indispensable

stage in the advance of the workingclass movement and the political experience of the masses of the people. The two previous Labor governments were visibly limited by the absence of a parliamentary majority. This limitation is now removed. Now a new political situation opens, severe in its testing of every program and leadership of strength and unity and self-discipline of the workingclass movement, but rich in its possibilities and opportunities for the entire workingclass movement for democratic advance for measures of economic and social reconstruction and for world progress and cooperation.

The new Labor government has been elected on the basis of a positive program of concrete measures. These measures have the united support of the entire workingclass movement and of the widest sections of democratic opinion. The overcoming of the obstacles to their fulfillment will require the utmost united effort. The neglect and delays of preceding Tory governments have left no easy inheritance. The urgent needs of the housing situation, decisions on control and use of the land and planning the coordination of the necessary measures for speeding victory in the Far East, with demobilization, the switch-over from war to peace in industry and an increase in the supply of consumption goods, the maintenance and improvement of wage levels and the standards of the people, the pressing problems of coal, textiles and other basic industries and the fulfillment of agreed plans on health, education and social security—all clamor for attention. Abroad, the tasks of the war against Japan, fulfillment of the decisions of the Potsdam and San Francisco conferences, completion of the destruction of fascism and the strengthening of democratic anti-fascist cooperation in Europe, India and parts of the Far East, Bretton Woods and international economic cooperation, all equally press for attention. The situation confronting the new Labor government is crowded with problems which will require all the understanding, the united endeavor and the cooperation of the entire labor movement and the whole nation.

Nor will Toryism and the great propertied and financial interests it represents, the landlords and monopolies and vested interests, the Munichites and friends of fascism, who have suffered a defeat they did not expect at the polls, take their defeat easily or abandon the struggle because the parliamentary majority is no longer in the hands of their

chosen representatives. On the contrary, they will do all in their power to discredit the new government and new majority, to weaken its action, to exploit every difficulty in the situation, to alternate praise for every sign of weakness and threats for every sign of strength, and to use their economic, administrative and publicity power in order to sabotage effective action and spread division. Any illusions that winning of a parliamentary majority is the end of the problems before the Labor movement will soon be dispelled. Vigilance against political and economic sabotage by the big capitalists, bankers and landlords will be more than ever necessary. Attempts at fascist revival must be expected. But a firm policy of unity and strength of the movement and effective political leadership will be able to defeat these maneuvers and carry the people forward to new victories.

After the election victory we are entering no easy period of smooth progressive advance, but of harsh and formidable problems and stormy struggles. That is why the unity and cooperation of all sections of the workingclass movement is so essential and all distracting divisions in the face of the common enemy need to be overcome. The first necessity for the labor movement is to follow up the election victory by consolidating its ranks and strengthening its leadership of the people. For the first time in this election all the big towns have been won. In the coming municipal elections it will be essential to follow this up and establish local administration in the hands of Labor majorities together with an increase of Communist representation. Trade union organization needs now to be strengthened in the critical transition period in industry, both to defend wartime gains in the face of already developing attacks of the employers and to cooperate with the Labor government in new tasks of reconstruction. Socialist propaganda needs to be extended on the widest scale to win the masses of young people, returning soldiers and all those millions of electors who have for the first time voted Labor. In all these tasks, no less than in grappling with the political and economic problems of the coming period, the Communist Party will be able to prove its worth and service in the movement and will at the same time do all in its power to hasten the solution of the problems of workingclass unity, with Communism able to play its part in a united labor movement which is essential for the full strength of the movement and for future victory.



WASHINGTON NOTEBOOK

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

WHEN Sen. Tom Connally (D., Tex.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, read the names of most of the organizations which appeared before the committee opposing the United Nations Security Council, he was very witty. The only person the committee refused to hear was some old man who demanded to be heard for three days. Senator Connally had no objection to hearing him but he declined to hear him for three days. He was funny about the testimony of Norman Thomas, the Socialist, who disagreed with the dotting of i's and crossing of t's, but finally was for the Charter. The list of anti-Charter organizations included the America First Party, American Mothers of Minnesota, the Christian Action Committee of Baltimore, whom readers of NEW MASSES may remember as the outfit exposed in these pages last year, much to the annoyance of Gerald L. K. Smith, and such pro-fascist outfits as Carl Mote's National Farmers Guild.

But Senator Connally was extremely deferential when he spoke of another witness against the Charter, John T. Flynn, an ex-liberal, who writes for the native fascist, Merwin K. Hart, among others—treating Flynn's testimony at some length in his speech introducing debate on the Charter.

Senator Connally spoke of Flynn's "very interesting and very vigorous" argument, and, as though it were a matter occasioning surprise, he said Flynn "was pronounced in his views against Communism, and his fear that Communism would spread because of the influence of Russia was one of the motives which prompted him to take the very vigorous attitude he assumed." Flynn told the committee that "We are at the present moment in the midst of a great ideological struggle in this world." Spain is fascist. France "is on the road now to Communism, and the only thing that will stop that will be a fascist movement." Italy, he said, "will probably continue to be fascist." Russia, he said, "stands between the free capitalism, and fascism and Communism in Europe—the only great, successful combatant." He did not "want to go into Russia and starve her or attack her." But he did not want her to succeed "on the energy of the capitalistic

system," and he hissed that Russia was "trying to destroy" that system.

Then this "economist," who never attacks fascism, told the Senators, "I am for refusing money help to any of the Communist nations of Europe or the world." He ended by regretfully saying he knew he couldn't stop the Charter, that "there is no hope of bringing that view to the American people."

He didn't say what was the connection between loans and the Charter, but Senator Connally provided that. He told the Senate Flynn thought it would pave the way for attacks on our economy.

Propaganda against the Charter, some of which Sen. James Tunnell (D., Del.), declared to be treasonable, poured upon the Senate right up until the final vote. He demanded to know who was financing it and asked for an investigation. Probably the filthiest piece of propaganda emanating from fascist outfits was a violently anti-Semitic sheet urging, "Save the Youth of America by Rejecting This Jewish Peace Charter." It was anonymous. It found its way to Senators' desks on the very morning of the day the vote was taken. Uncle Sam was pictured at world police headquarters, promising to send the Yanks to the aid of the Jews in Poland when they complained that the Poles were threatening the peace, and at the top of this revolting specimen of hate propaganda was the headline, "AMERICA'S TROUBLE-MAKERS WANT QUICK ACTION ON PHONY PEACE CHARTER."

Yet Sen. C. Wayland (Curley) Brooks, Chicago *Tribune* subsidiary, complained bitterly, in his speech of "support" to the Charter, that the American people were "literally drenched with propaganda portraying the glories of the future of this Charter. In speeches, verse and song, in cartoons and pictures, by the press, newsreels and movies, the steady rain of impressive portrayal fell upon the American people by day and by night."

The Charter was eventually ratified by a vote of eighty-nine to two, before a packed gallery, as a somber crowd of more than 500 persons waited in a long line stretching from the gallery down to the rotunda of the Capitol.

THE State Department, queried as to when the long delayed British-

American conference on Empire preferences and other devices of British economic warfare would be held, says that plans have changed. Instead of a parley here, Assistant Secretary of State Will Clayton is going to meet with the British in England. This was just as the Big Three Conference at Potsdam was nearing its close, and it was said Clayton would have the discussions with the British immediately after the Potsdam conference. At the same time I asked whether a definite date had been set for the International Trade and Full Employment Conference the State Department was sponsoring, which also has been postponed a couple of times. No, no date had been fixed, I was told.

THE Wagner-Ellender housing bill, introduced the last day of the Senate before the recess, calls for construction of from 1,250,000 to 1,500,000 units a year over a ten-year period. It is generally in line with the comprehensive housing program urged by the AFL as long ago as last January. At that time, testifying before the Senate subcommittee on Housing and Urban Redevelopment, Harry C. Bates, chairman, and Boris Shishkin, secretary, of the AFL Housing Committee, said that the program, when brought into high gear within five years after V-J Day, would yield 2,500,000 jobs at the construction site alone. Construction of the minimum of 1,500,000 units of housing a year would also "create a vast market in household equipment, appliances and home furnishings sufficient to yield each year at least 10,000,000 full-time jobs."

But they warned that "in the period immediately following the war, control of building material prices should be continued. The accumulated pressure of unsatisfied demand is far too great to avoid runaway building material prices unless they are held in check."

They also urged correction of the housing provisions of the GI Bill of Rights, which "utterly fail to protect the interests of the veteran, expose him to speculative profiteering at his expense and place upon him an unreasonable and unfair burden of high interest charged by lenders whose loans are fully guaranteed by the government against risk."

THE FIERY CROSS

Short Stories by LEONORA SWEETLAND

A Texas publisher remarked that Leonora Sweetland had "infinite possibilities as a writer" and urged her to get her mind "out of the gutter and write of beautiful things." She decided, instead, to try us. We are proud to be the first publishers of this vigorous, natural talent.

INCIDENT ON THE HIGHWAY

THE share-a-ride car had broken down. Nellie drove her husband and the other workers with whom he rode to the war plant which was located some distance outside of the city. The afternoon shift was changing and she was caught in a traffic jam on the highway as she was returning home. There seemed to be trouble of some sort on the road ahead of her. The people near her were talking excitedly and she learned that two cars had collided, one driven by a Negro and another by a white man. She got out of her car and walked forward. White men and black men all armed with car tools and snarling and yapping lined the highway. The tension was high, and Nellie knew that one spark would set off the conflagration. It was approaching the nineteenth of June and race trouble flared up more at this time of the calendar than at any other. She wondered if there was anything she could do to break up the crowd. She remembered the old system of driving in a wedge, but she could not see any weak place in the armor of either side. The walls seemed solid black on one side, and white on the other. Then she saw an old Negro man standing in the back of a pick-up truck, trying to make himself heard above the din of the multitude. She climbed up beside him but she could not say a word. Her knees felt weak. She was shivering as if she had a chill, and her tongue stuck to the roof of her mouth. She stood close to the man, her shoulder touching his, and their shoulders were on a level. She thought, "We are too small and weak to do anything." Their surprise at seeing a woman in their midst caused a momentary hush to fall on the crowd. In that split second, when he could make himself heard, the old man began speaking. He did not seem to be one bit excited and his voice was clear as a bell.

"Bredren," he said. "Dere is all kinds of ties dat bind men togedder, ties of blood and color and religion, but dere is one tie dat mus' nebber be broke." He

pointed his finger. "You white men ober yonder, and you black men ober dere. You's got de same hahd hats on your haid: look at dem hands. You's got de same marks and scars on 'em. You work wid dem hands. Now you can kill each odder wid dem hands and de rest of dese folks'll ride off and leave yo dead bodies on dis lonesome road. And who you gwine to help? Nobody. An' who you gwine to hurt? Dem women and children dat's waiting now for you to come home. Now if all you men dat's got dem working signs on your hands'll git in yo cars and go home dey won't be no bad trouble and you can drink dat hot coffee in de mawnin' and watch dat sun come up." The trouble was over.

The cars moved on and a man and woman whose lives were interwoven with the chains of men in the hold of a slave boat were left alone on the highway. Their eyes were moist with unshed tears, as they parted forever. The wise old sage, who had poured oil on the troubled waters for more than three-quarters of a century, passed with the summer flowers.

THE FIERY CROSS

THE widow's daughter was poor but she was very pretty; her cheek had the pink of the peach blooms. Her eyes were blue as the bluebonnets on the prairie and her hair was smooth and black as the raven's wing. She was seventeen and the catch of the season was in love with her, and his father owned much bottom land.

Tongues wagged in the neighborhood, and many words were spoken concerning the marriage of white trash out of their class. These words came first from the mouths of the mothers of wedding-age girls. What a shame for such a fine young man to tie up with a strapping hussy who had come up like a colt with no raising at all!

Soon it was rumored that some one had seen the widow's daughter and the young man coming away from the church on a night when there had been no services. The black war of the tongues rolled on until it had become a crusade, and the mothers had enlisted the aid of the fathers. The morals of their sons were being corrupted by a young harlot.

The leaders of the community called

a meeting of the Ku Klux Klan. Robed figures came from the deep woods in the dead of the night and gathered before a fiery cross on the hilltop. The robed deacon stood at the foot of the cross like a giant white bat from the tomb of a leper. He raised his claw hands and spoke to his fellow klansmen in impressive tones, "The time has come for action."

On the Sabbath evening as the minister preached of a God of love and compassion four men stirred a pot of tar in the woods nearby, while a fifth man tore open a feather pillow. Now they had but to wait until after the benediction. All was quiet in the vicinity of the church. The meeting was over and the people had gone to their homes. The executors of robed and hooded justice lurked in the shadows of the woods and waited.

The boy and girl came down the thicket path on the opposite side of the church, slipped hurriedly around the corner of the building and entered the front door. The figures in the shadows waited awhile longer, then they stole from their places of concealment one by one, and these twelve who called themselves The Disciples went forth to fulfill their mission. When the lighted match was applied to the torch which they carried, its flame lighted up the interior of the church and shone on the faces of the deacon's daughter and the son of a tenant farmer. The deacon took his daughter home, and his fellow klansmen carried the son of the tenant farmer into the woods and operated on him with dirty pocket knives, coated him with boiling tar, poured the feathers on him and went away with blood on their hands. And the fiery cross gleamed on the hilltop.

THE PASSING OF IMMANUEL

THE brown oatmeal paper on the walls was faded with age. Leaks in the roof had left gray clouds on the ceiling. Roaches were snuggled in the corners where the paper had come loose. Immanuel was lying on the rusted iron bed in the center of the room. Pedro and Maria had placed the bed there so that it would not be near the walls, which were hotter than the brow of their little Immanuel. He was a small child. But he had only five years, and the last one of these had been spent on the shuck mattress of the iron bed. But

soon he would be gone. Maria knew this as she counted the pulse in his thin wrist. Candles burned on the sewing machine in a corner of the room. A colored picture of the Virgin of the Guadalupe hung on the walls above the sewing machine. Pedro sat in front of the candles, on the chair with the steerhide bottom, and counted his beads. Maria brought a fresh bowl of water from the kitchen and cooled the towels in it, and replaced them on the head and arms of Immanuel. She sat on the side of the bed and watched the irregular rise and fall of her child's ribs as he breathed. Now he was sleeping again. She went to the stand table by the window and blew the dust from the crepe-paper flowers in the plaster vase. "Soon there will be shade on the walls, Pedro," she said. "The sun is getting low, and the shadow of the hospital is half way across the street." The hands of Maria trembled as she washed the bowl and spoon in the kitchen sink and placed the gray enameled coffee pot on the charcoal brazier.

She filled the bowl with hot coffee, placed it in front of Pedro and returned to the bed where the child Immanuel lay. He stirred restlessly and the fit of coughing was upon him. Pedro came and stood at the foot of the bed. Maria raised the small body and propped it against her bosom. When Immanuel had finished the coughing she laid him back on his pillow and wiped the blood from his lips. He did not breathe now. And Pedro pushed away the chair, and, kneeling before the candles and the bowl of coffee, made the sign of the Cross.

Maria went into the kitchen and returned with the small shaving mirror. She held it over her child's mouth for a moment and lighted a match to see, but there was no moisture on the glass. She took the sheet from the small pine box nailed onto the wall, unfolded the sheet and spread it over the body on the iron bed. As she walked through the front door, she said gently to Pedro, "Do not light the lamp. The roaches come thickly when there is a light." As she stood in front of her home, the mother of Immanuel looked up at the lighted rooms of the hospital across the street. There is much light there, but roaches do not come to the hospital, for there is no loose paper and the walls are white. She reached into her apron



Larkin

pocket for the five-cent coin. She would need it to use the telephone at the cafe on the corner. Maria could not speak English very well, but she would ask the kind-faced waitress to call the city morgue.

FROM THE CROSS TO THE TOMB

THE sheriff of the county had been shot to death in the river jungle. A small Negro boy named Mart was accused of the murder. But there were people who knew that the sheriff had been killed by some county-seat bootleggers who kept their stills in the river bottom. The bootleggers knew that the surest way to escape justice was to blame the crime on a Negro. The body of the sheriff had been found near the home of Mart's mother and perhaps the little boy had witnessed the killing. Negroes were dealt with by the vigilantes and woe unto him who tried to interfere with the swift justice of the vigilantes.

Mr. Burton and his daughter Martha discussed these things as they rode into town. Martha took a check to the tax collector's office for her father while he went about his business of having some plows sharpened.

There was not a soul in the court house. Even the women clerks and stenographers were gone. If it were a holiday, Martha thought, the doors would be locked. Suddenly she heard a commotion on the lawn down by the jail. She ran through the hall to the window at the end of the court house. Fifteen or twenty men were hurrying about on the lawn. Then Martha saw the little boy. A rope was hanging in the tree, by the side of the jail. Two men were holding Mart's shoulders. "Oh, God," breathed Martha, "they can't hang a child!" She began to pray. Holding to the window ledge for support, they were slipping the noose over Mart's neck. The prayer froze in her heart and something died within her breast, and a woman's lips which had spoken only gentle words were seared with curses, as coldly and deliberately Martha cursed these men with every word she had ever heard to curse with. She lay ill in her father's house for many weeks.

This had all happened when Martha's son was a baby. But she had not gone to church since that day.

The vigilantes had worn no masks and Martha wanted never to see their faces again or hear them pray in the house of God. Her son had grown up now and had gone away to war over-

seas and Martha's sleep was troubled and the nights were long. She saw the minister and his wife at work in their garden. She loved these neighbors and the feeling was mutual. She had lived next door to them for more than six years, and not once had they rebuked her for not going to church. She told them about her fears in the night and wondered if they thought this trouble would pass for her as it did for others.

The old minister said gently, "Child, you need help to carry your load, come with us to church tonight. Perhaps it will benefit you."

A feeling of peace was upon Martha as she sat in the pew at church beside the wife of the minister. The stained glass windows glowed softly in the light from the chandeliers. Amber, orange and red, with a color of green which some great artists had stolen from newborn leaves of grass. A kindly shepherd with a lamb in his arms graced the south window. From the north a lion and lamb together led by a little child were coming to meet the shepherd. The silken swish as the white-robed choir arose was as the rustle of angels' wings and the music of the organ was in the nature of the celestial.

The minister raised his arms and the congregation stood; the liquid tones of the organ floated upon the air with the voice of the choir following in gentle succession. *Were you there when they crucified my Lord?* Martha stood with bowed head. *Were you there when they crucified my Lord?* But she was not in the church. Now she was standing at the window of the old court house at the county seat and a small Christ with thin arms and big eyes was being crucified. She clenched her hands at her sides and her nails dug into the palms of her hands. Surely she would cry aloud and her voice would ring, high up in the dome of the church. *Were you there when they laid him in the tomb?* But Martha had only been present at the crucifixion and the memory of it had gone with her through the nights and days of her years. Now she was at the tomb of the Christ whom she had seen crucified and the mother of Christ was there. She slipped into the aisle and ran from the church. She rested for a moment leaning against an oak tree in the churchyard and her breath came hard as if she had run a long distance. She walked home under the stars, but there was no feeling of life in her limbs, and she moved as a shadow in the night. An owl doing sentry duty in the top of a pine tree called out as she passed "Who? Who? Who are you?"

CARTELS AND FREE ENTERPRISE

By JAMES ALLEN

The following is a section from a new book, "Cartels, Monopoly and the Peace," to be published in the fall. Mr. Allen is the author of two other books, "The Negro Question in the United States" and "Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy." He was honorably discharged from the Army last October and is now foreign editor of "The Worker." Another excerpt from this book will be published in a future issue.

THE term "free enterprise" as used in American economic discussion means one thing: self-government of industry and private ownership as opposed to public ownership and government control imposed upon industry. The term has no meaning whatever when used synonymously with "free competition" to describe the state of the American economy. Free enterprise and free competition have long since been superseded by monopoly, which is as supreme in the United States as in Britain. The real question, as far as big business is concerned, is to what extent the controls over production and the market shall be shared with the government apparatus.

Nor can this question be posed in general terms, as for or against government intervention in the economy. As in other leading capitalist countries the trend has been towards increasing government controls of one kind or another, and this trend has been greatly accelerated by World War I, the world's economic crisis and World War II. In the United States this development did not attain as high a level as in other countries, but its presence is unmistakable. The American government participated in international commodity agreements covering a number of agricultural products. The Webb-Pomerene act authorized export associations, cartel-type organizations, to operate in cartelized world markets. The Miller-Tydings act permits manufacturers and retailers to act jointly to control retail prices of food and drugs. For some years the Guffey coal act attempted to enforce minimum prices. The production of oil in the United States is strictly pro-rated. During the great crisis, the government-imposed, but business self-regulating NRA codes for a time legalized many cartel practices and strengthened

the cartel features of the trade associations. Government control over domestic air traffic is so complete that it led Lord Swinton, head of the British delegation to the International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago, to complain in a report to the House of Lords: "Nobody can 'muscle in'—I beg pardon for the expression—nobody can enter and compete in their internal services." The domestic market was protected by one of the highest tariff walls in the world. Government regulation of agricultural production and marketing is an established practice. These are only some instances of the more recent government interventions, some of them of a cartel type, not to speak of the extension of all kinds of government controls during wartime.

Actually, the principle of government intervention is not challenged in all instances, nor can it even be said that the principle itself is challenged. The question is intervention for what end and under what circumstances: for the purpose of safeguarding and extending the power of the monopolies or of restricting their free operation; under circumstances of greater direct participation of the monopoly capitalists in the state apparatus or of increasing influence and participation of anti-monopoly and democratic forces.

Even the most extreme advocates of "free enterprise" want government intervention to assure "free competition." A typical propaganda broadsheet of the Chamber of Commerce, for example, cries for government promotion of the "free market": "Free markets will not remain free without government action." The all-out advocates of "free" world trade are using the government apparatus to hamper participation in cartels, while in Britain the state pressure is used to force participation in cartels. At the civil aviation conference in Chicago (1944), the whole pressure of the American government was brought to bear upon obtaining free competitive rights for the giant airplane monopolies of the United States throughout the world; while the British government attempted to protect their own monopolies by seeking quotas and regulations which would restrict the American combines.

However, as the war in Europe came to an end American big business as well

as government overwhelmingly favored restricting and delimiting the trend towards government intervention in the economy. Certain government controls and aid, especially in the field of foreign commerce and capital investment, were welcomed by some big business circles, and actively sought. But as a whole, the prevailing tendency of policy was to permit the free play of economic forces—in a monopoly economy meaning the freedom of monopoly—in the vain hope that this could solve the major problems of conversion at home and of the world market.

Although the position may change again as the result of a crisis, as it did during the crisis of the thirties, big business as a whole remained extremely wary of government controls, especially of the type which would permit the state apparatus to interfere with "self-government in industry." Pending an emergency such as is created by a crisis, the trusts, greatly fattened by the war profits, counted upon their own strengthened position to maintain their domination of the economy, in the main without government aid, and the trade association structure controlled by them provided sufficient medium through which they could maintain cartelized controls without supplementary intervention by the state apparatus.

THE main consideration determining the position of big capital on such questions is the fear that increased government intervention would place at the disposal of the state instruments which could be used effectively against the monopolies. This was shown, for example, in the painstaking care taken by the monopoly producers to assure their own management and control of the tremendous wartime plant financed and constructed by the government. State ownership of productive plant can prove, in proper hands, the most effective weapon for hampering and curbing the monopolies. And the main concern of the latter was that they should have the decisive voice in determining the disposal of the government war plant after the war. In their report on adjustment policies, Bernard M. Baruch and John M. Hancock warned against "government operation of surplus war plants in competition with private industry," while at the same time advising

that monopoly should not be favored in the disposal of the government properties. But it is utopian to expect that the monopolies will not be favored in practice by the disposal of the war plants, especially if government surrenders from the beginning the main weapon of state ownership. At any rate, both government and big business fully coincided in their opposition to government ownership, the most effective form of state intervention in the economy.

This aspect of government policy, and the motivations behind it, were brought out clearly in the discussion of a proposal by the War and Navy Departments to create single national monopolies in the fields of aviation and communications, which they considered vital to national defense. A central question involved here is the control and disposal of the vast network of airfields and communications facilities established by the American armed services and government agencies throughout the world. The world-wide system of American-owned airfields certainly exceeds by far the network and installations owned by any private monopoly in the world; and in the field of telecommunications, the government-owned facilities probably rival the global connections of International Telephone and Telegraph with the other private radio and wire services thrown in. Many of the government-owned installations would remain under military control in such areas as the United States may take over as "strategic bases." But there is a vast war surplus which can be turned to civilian use, and moreover in fields which are of great value from the viewpoint of facilitating economic and political penetration. The War and Navy Departments proposed to solve this problem by creating a single government-backed American flag monopoly for world air traffic and another single monopoly in the field of telecommunications by merging all radiotelephone, radiotelegraphy and wire services.

The State Department opposed this plan, not because it objected to effective American utilization of the wartime facilities created throughout the world, but because it thought that this objective could be attained better by other means. As was explained to a congressional committee by Assistant Secretary of State William L. Clayton, the end sought by American policy in the field of aviation is not primarily to connect the homeland with American territories (as is the case with Britain), "but to carry American passengers and American products under our own flag to all

parts of the world." This is as precise a definition of economic policy for the whole field of world trade as can be found anywhere. But of special interest at this point is the main reason given by Secretary Clayton in opposing the Army-Navy scheme. It is that a single monopoly created under government aegis would eventually mean government ownership. He argued that the same objectives sought by the military agencies could be obtained through the "competitive system," that is, the existing air monopolies, especially since they are not hampered by lack of finances or resources. In the telecommunications field, **the secretary opposed a merger of the services because in this case also a government-sponsored merger would raise the prospect of state ownership.**

However, in both cases the State Department favored unified control of policy at the government level, without direct participation in the financial structure of any of the monopolies. It was held that government cooperation with the private firms would be necessary for the purpose of negotiating with foreign governments. Clayton put it this way: "We can retain the benefits of our characteristically American methods and deal effectively with other countries, without adopting their patterns of economic life." He preferred to call the policy suggested in these fields "regulated competition."

THIS neat and flexible balance between "free" and "regulated" competition is not shared by other branches of the federal administration. While the Army and Navy Departments are for the fullest use of the government power to force mergers and promote monopoly in accordance with an expansionist policy, others go to the opposite extreme in the service of the same policy. Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge, for example, is opposed not only to "government cartels" but to government control over cartels, because "effective government control over such agreements would require such a degree of interference and surveillance over private industry as to place in great jeopardy our own free enterprise-private property system." Despite his concern for the "free enterprise-private property" system in the United States, he does not hesitate to advocate intergovernment action to eliminate "inefficient and artificially maintained" industries abroad. In the very nature of things, the proposal to scrap such industries is directed prominently against British industry, which provides the outstanding example

of comparative technological backwardness. Berge is kind enough to suggest that international credits be arranged to bring about the orderly elimination of the backward industries—which can very easily be interpreted as a proposal to gain control over the British economy, and to regulate industry throughout the world.

For the most part, the opposition to "government cartels," by which is sometimes meant almost any kind of government commodity agreement, is directed at breaking up the monopoly of many raw materials enjoyed by the British trusts through control of the sources in the British Empire and in the Dutch and other dependent empires. Through government-imposed cartels and commodity agreements, the British monopolists cornered materials not produced in the United States or dependent spheres—products like natural rubber, tin, nickel, quinine and industrial diamonds. Accordingly, to the extent that these are not replaced by synthetic or substitute products, and if the British colonial monopoly is not broken up, the United States must remain dependent upon the British-dominated cartels.

The American government policy on commodity agreements therefore places main emphasis upon including consuming countries on an equal basis in the raw material conventions and agreements, as opposed to the British policy of restricting such agreements to the raw material-producing countries only. With the wartime development of the synthetics industries in the United States, and the problems created by the tremendously expanded production of industrial raw materials and metals, the government commodity agreement is seen as a weapon that can be used to break up the British monopoly. This is especially the case in those products over which United States producers themselves enjoy a monopoly, as in copper and other metals extracted and processed in Latin America and in the United States. The American government's proposals to conclude agreements on a limited number of such commodities tie in with the attempt to force a general reconsideration of all the government-controlled cartels in raw materials. This is emphasized by the proposal often made by American spokesmen for an international economic organization to supervise all government commodity agreements.

Thus government policy, while basing itself on "free enterprise" and emphasizing opposition to cartels which restrict

(Continued on page 31)

READERS' FORUM

Permanence and Change

TO NEW MASSES: I wish to take issue with the conception of permanence and change expressed in the letter of Carl von der Lancken in the July 3 NEW MASSES. The CPA Board erred, the writer said, in holding that Marxism supports the permanent nature of finance capital; for according to dialectics nothing is permanent. In this reasoning, Carl von der Lancken saw support for Browder's revisionism.

Friedrich Engels would turn over in his grave if he knew that in the year 1945 American Marxists had so little grasped the principle of dialectics that they would stress one side of it—the changing aspect of things, while overlooking its other side—their permanent aspect. And the prospect of such a sepulchral overturning is an absolute, not a relative, truth!

Generally speaking it is true, as von der Lancken said, that “the Marxian dialectic does not admit the permanency of any state of affairs in a dynamic world.” This is general and basic. But if Marxian dialectics had no more to say than this, it would have made no advance over the ancient dialectics of Heraclitus. Marxian dialectic affirms not only that all things change, but it describes how change takes place. And an understanding of how change takes place requires a recognition of the *relative permanence* of things—i.e., their fixed identity as *they are* until such time as qualitative change renders them into something different—and the *absolute* application to a phenomenon of the scientific laws which govern its change and behavior.

Change is absolute, permanence relative; but this does not mean that we can overlook permanence. The Marxist will not be disturbed by the fact that absolute change is built out of relative permanence. American Marxists, under the spell of our unconscious revisionism, have been so keen to trumpet forth the fact that everything changes that we have forgotten the basic, unchanging and absolute laws which produce change.

Let's be specific. It is true that capitalism is not a permanent system. Neither was slavery, nor serfdom. Nor will socialism be enduring forever. The dynamic of social development leads capitalism into socialism. But what is this dynamic? It is the laws of development of capitalism, which are inexorable and absolute *so long as capitalism continues to exist*. Thus the CPA Board is correct in supporting the theory of the permanent nature of finance capital—permanent meaning not that it will endure forever, but that the laws governing its motion and develop-

ment will endure unchanged so long as it exists.

Once Marx and Engels had worked out the general theory of dialectical materialism, based on the revolutionary proposition that everything changes, Marx spent the rest of his life studying the specific, concrete laws governing the development of capitalism. He did not write three volumes of *Capital* to elaborate laws which were to cease operation in 1890 with the development of trusts, or in 1945 with the emergence of super-democratic, benevolent cartels. The theory of surplus value, the law of the falling rate of profit, the inevitability of crises and wars under capitalism hold now, and they will continue to apply as long as capitalism exists.

The inevitability of socialism, in fact, rests on the absolute working out of these laws, and on nothing else. This is why socialism has become a science. It is well to remind ourselves that the laws of social development—for capitalist society the laws of development of capitalism—are just as objective, just as permanent and absolute, as the laws of physics or chemistry. Thus the class struggle goes on, whether Browder and the Communist movement recognize it or not. . . .

Dialectics teaches us that the correct understanding of any phenomenon, be it social system or amoeba, requires a detailed and concrete study of all aspects of that phenomenon. One cannot apply general laws without making a concrete analysis of the special nature of the phenomenon. To take the general proposition that everything changes and apply it to finance capital, therefrom deducing a policy for the guidance of social change, is just about as illuminating and fruitful as to try to add two and two by means of the differential calculus.

This is precisely what we mean by the error of mechanism. Dialectics teaches us that there are different levels of the organization of matter and different laws of motion governing development on the different levels. The simplest form of motion—the only form known to science for centuries—was mechanical motion, simple change of place. It was for the more recent sciences to discover the higher forms of motion—molecular, chemical, organic forms of motion and finally for scientific socialism to discover the laws of motion of states. Mechanism consists in oversimplification, in applying an obvious and general law (such as the fact that everything changes) to a concrete situation without studying the particular aspects and forms of motion applying to that situation. Is this not

what we mean when we say—as we are saying so frequently nowadays—that error has arisen from a “mechanical” application of a generally correct formulation?

Engels warned us that if we deny the relative permanence in things, we lose our basis of comparison, we have no criterion of truth and knowledge becomes impossible. If in our enthusiasm for the great, revolutionary principle of change, we overlook the permanence factor in things, forgetting that in dialectical development the old is not *only* destroyed but is also carried over into the new, if we view the world only as a kaleidoscope of the new, then we are likely to forget our basic principles, to slip into revision. And from Marxism we have then slid into the bourgeois error of pragmatism, the philosophy of do-nothing and know-nothing, which denies the existence of objective truth and thus renders all science—physical as well as social—impossible. DOROTHY JUNE NEWBURY, Chicago.

Basic Theory

TO NEW MASSES: I don't know how many publications there are in this country with a Marxist approach. I do know that the number is infinitesimal compared with the battalions of the bought press. I believe the majority of those we have are directed rather exclusively along economic lines, with a few highly erudite magazines for the Marxist scholar. If you are the only vehicle for general cultural levels, I certainly think you should devote at least one page a week to strictly educational work in basic theory. Four articles a month, covering general principles of historical and dialectical materialism, and their direct application to the living sciences; anthropology, biology, psychology (with particular emphasis on environment and conditioning), etc.

We're the most deeply capitalist-conditioned nation in the world and popular writers on socialism can't afford to forget this. As a radio commentator said the other day, “Our people are not *class-conscious*, they're *job-conscious*.” You've done a pretty good job in semantics, as far as avoiding the phrase-worn-meaningless, is concerned. You still approach the “precious” rather often, I think. But we need, not just Marxian analyses along different cultural lines; we need Marxian orientation courses, patterned on the best that has been done in the propaganda line. Pamphlets such as *The Races of Mankind*; the best of the Army orientation courses; racy, readable articles such as Mike Quin put over, as the San Francisco CIO *News* reporter—sound theory presented in a somewhat similar manner should not be beneath the dignity of your magazine. It should appeal to a technically-trained generation which longs for some feeling of scientific continuity, of One World similarly organized throughout its parts; a grasp of parallel evolutionary developments in physics, biology, economics, psychology. Only a few will *search* for what they want, or searching, find, in the “dated” translations of Marx and Engels, or the



"French Peasant," oil by Joseph Floch. From Encyclopaedia Britannica collection of contemporary American painting.

mummifying Jamesian sentences of contemporaries like Venables.

The living, growing dynamic of socialism should be offered. Give the people the tools, not solely the products thereof. A little on the Santayana-discussion level, yes. But remember:—You've got just so much newsprint, so many words, to fight our battle in our world's great crisis. Don't say "See, we hit a bull's-eye," rather, "Pass the ammunition"! Sausalito, Calif. C. D.

Wishful Editing

TO NEW MASSES: May I claim a few paragraphs to answer "Private, AAF's" letter in your July 24 issue about Communists in the Army?

It should first be stated that the line the private quotes from my piece about Joe Hecht: "the Army has learned it can't fight an efficient war if it discards good men simply because they are or have been called Communists"—was not written by me. It was inserted in my article by NM's editor. I gave NM's editor permission to make such changes as he felt necessary, because he said

NM was in a hurry to print the piece—and because I did not expect NM to make serious emendations of my text.

What I wrote was: "There was a time we don't like to remember, but I think we should recall it now. Because the times have changed and many people have changed with the times. It was the time when Communists, or men and women who had been to Spain, were regarded with suspicion here at home. Joe went in the US Army, etc." That is all I wrote. The change—the amplification—sprang no doubt out of the same type of wishful thinking, and incorrect estimation of actual situations, that both NM and the CPA are currently reevaluating.

That discrimination against Communists still exists in the Army, I am sure. And I could cite the private twenty-five cases for every five he can cite. And most of these cases were later rectified—the men received their commissions, went abroad, invariably made good records. The rectification—it seems to me—is more important than the original kicking around they got.

For surely the private will agree that it is a new thing in Army practice when the

chief of military intelligence defends alleged Communists to Congressmen who attack them, stating that the record of these men demonstrates the fact that "they have been defending our government by force and violence." It is a new thing when the Assistant Secretary of War publicly defends alleged Communists by citing their excellent Army records and laughing off the charges preferred by fascist-minded legislators.

A re-reading of my original text (which the private naturally could not see) would show that I was pointing to a tendency—a good one—not prematurely praising an established policy. The policy is not yet firmly established.

ALVAH BESSIE.

Hollywood, Calif.

Mr. Byrnes, Conservative

TO NEW MASSES: In your July 17 issue John Stuart writes that while Secretary Byrnes is a man "of limited social perspectives," "there is nothing to keep him from climbing above his prejudices and rising in stature." In my opinion, the very description of those "perspectives" preceding the above-quoted statement indicates probabilities of a precisely opposite character.

Mr. Byrnes is a conservative Southern Democrat with views on labor and the Negro people that one would expect of such a person. The objective interests of the capitalists who run this country, moreover, favor vigorous competition for world markets and the hampering of independence movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Between his own background and the interests referred to, therefore, he is most unlikely to "refresh" the Roosevelt policy, let alone improve it where necessary.

Stuart closes with the note that "the guarantee" that our foreign policy is sound "depends on an alert labor movement that knows what it wants and how it is to be attained."

I believe that should have been the starting point and burden of Stuart's reasoning. Let us have some attention to such pressing questions as the struggles of the people of Latin America, the threat of an imperialist drive for retention of Pacific territories, the bearing of the control of the International Bank and Monetary Fund on European politics.

We must stir up the labor movement in the first instance to insist upon independence for Puerto Rico, upon an administration of the Bretton Woods organizations that will not hamstring the leftward moving nations of Europe. *If public opinion is brought to support a program of this sort, Mr. Byrnes will have to heed it.*

That, I submit, is the Marxist approach. Mr. Stuart's emphasis on Byrnes as an individual and on State Department personnel as individuals is a hangover of Browder's revisionism. Let's get rid of such thinking in our ranks. Our proper concern is primarily with the mass pressure that affects policy.

STANLEY ARCHER.

New York.

PERSPECTIVES FROM POTSDAM

By THE EDITORS

THE essence of the Potsdam Declaration of President Truman, Generalissimo Stalin and Prime Minister Attlee is that the three powers which brought the German armies to defeat now have agreed upon a detailed plan for the destruction of the economic and political base of fascism in Germany. It is a heartening document in that the representatives of the two most powerful capitalist nations and of the Soviet Union, months after the removal of the compelling pressures of the European war, have given expression in it to a continuing high level of anti-fascist unity among the United Nations leaders.

Because of the confused and often anti-democratic policies practiced by American and British authorities in their zones of occupation, because of pro-fascist tendencies in the foreign policies of both of these nations toward Greece, toward the problem of Trieste, toward China and toward the Nazi government of Argentina, there has been widespread fear that the victory over Hitlerism might be betrayed. The Potsdam Declaration does not altogether remove these fears, for its terms have still to be applied with the same forthrightness and clarity as they are expressed in the tripartite document. However, that agreement has been reached on such decisive measures marks another historic victory for the forces of democracy.

As early as 1929 the Communist International recognized fascism as "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital." Sixteen years later the Soviet Union has reached an agreement with the two most powerful representatives of monopoly capitalism to strike at the roots of fascism in the nation where it gained its most reactionary and brutal expression. There can be no doubt that the major role which the land of socialism has played in the defeat of Germany and in the making of the peace is primarily responsible for the anti-fascist vigor of these latest agreements.

IT is the evident intention of the Allied leaders to eliminate the possibility of a resurgence of fascism in Germany. In addition to thorough-going industrial disarmament, the economic section of the Potsdam Declaration calls for the following highly significant action: "At

the earliest practicable date the German economy shall be decentralized for the purpose of eliminating the present excessive concentration of economic power as exemplified in particular by cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopolistic arrangements." The leading Allies, moreover, declare their intention "to exercise control and the power of disposition over German-owned external assets not already under the control of United Nations." An easy test of whether Britain and the United States mean what they say in making the latter pledge will be to watch what they do to seize Nazi wealth now hiding under the protective wing of the Farrell-Peron government of Argentina.

The economic principles adopted at Potsdam also mark a defeat for those groups in Britain and the United States that sought to preserve German heavy industry in order to rebuild Germany as a counterweight to the USSR. What emerges in the Potsdam Declaration seems to be along the lines of the measures advocated by former Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau and other progressive members of the administration—measures similar to those urged by Soviet spokesmen. All war production is to be suppressed and the production of metals, chemicals, machinery and other items that might be used for war purposes is to be "rigidly controlled and restricted to Germany's approved post-war peacetime needs. . . ." In addition, industrial capital equipment not needed for German peace production is to be removed in payment of reparations. "In organizing the German economy," the Declaration states, "primary emphasis shall be given to the development of agriculture and peaceful domestic industries."

The Declaration also includes an agreement on reparations. A principle guiding reparations payments will be to "leave enough resources to enable the German people to subsist without external assistance." And average German living standards are not to exceed the average of other European countries.

The political principles of the Potsdam Declaration, if faithfully adhered to, will spell the extermination of the Nazi Party and its affiliates and of all Nazi institutions, as well as the removal of all those Nazis and quasi-Nazis who have been comfortably bedded down in

various administrative posts in the American and British zones. But beyond this the Declaration looks toward "the eventual reconstruction of German political life on a democratic basis" and "eventual peaceful cooperation in international life by Germany." In keeping with this the Declaration accepts for the whole of Germany the practice established in the Russian zone of permitting the formation of democratic political parties and trade unions and of granting within the limits of military security freedom of speech, press, assembly and religion.

THE sections on Germany constitute the most carefully worked out portions of the tripartite agreement. In addition, the Declaration contains a number of other significant decisions. The policy toward the provisional government of Poland is vigorously reaffirmed and the boundaries of that nation are tentatively determined. The first task of the new Council of Foreign Ministers, created during the conference and including the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, is designated as the conclusion of a peace treaty with Italy. Similar treaties are then to be drafted with Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. The fascist government of Spain "having been founded with the support of the Axis Powers," is not to be admitted to the United Nations.

Two proposals put forward by the Soviet Union on which agreement was not reached at Berlin are noted and will be studied in the near future. One involves the extension of the authority of the provisional government of Austria to the entire country. The other, the inclusion of former Italian colonies in the trusteeship system set up at San Francisco, indicates that the Soviet Union will continue to champion the principle of genuine self-determination for dependent countries at every international gathering. The disposition of the Italian colonies is to come up again when the Council of Foreign Ministers negotiates the peace treaty with Italy.

The major task of the Berlin Conference was to work out a detailed plan for the extermination of German fascism and for the eventual development of German democracy. In this task it achieved a large measure of success. Its other work reflected the same demo-

cratic unity which characterized the great wartime conferences of Moscow, Teheran and Yalta and which eventually triumphed at San Francisco. The Berlin Conference, however, has not thereby ended the struggle for democracy throughout Europe. No reference was made to Greece, where British subsidized reaction still sits in the saddle, nor to Yugoslavia, where Tito's democratic government is still under attacks inspired from abroad. The action on Spain, moreover, can only be described as the minimum that could be done under the circumstances. Above all, the

Potsdam Declaration as a whole and in its several parts remains to be implemented by actions and policies consistent with its principles. Such implementation will require a far more democratic and anti-fascist policy on the part of the American State Department and the British Foreign Office than has so far been evidenced. And it will require vigilance and action from the labor movements and peoples of these two countries.

Moreover, there can be no separation of the problem of dealing with a militarily defeated Germany from that of bringing to completion the war against

fascist Japan. No one can miss the extraordinary contrast between the terms agreed to regarding Germany and the double talk and shady maneuvers vis-a-vis Japan emanating from high official American circles. Until the inconsistencies which today exist between the agreements on Europe and Anglo-American policies in the Far East are removed, until our anti-democratic China policy is reversed and a colonial program is adopted that looks forward to early independence, the splendid words of the Potsdam Declaration remain in constant jeopardy.

NM SPOTLIGHT

America's Petainist

THE publication of Admiral Leahy's shocking letter to Marshal Petain casts a cloud over the Truman administration which can be lifted only by the public repudiation of the letter and the removal of its author from his post. Admiral Leahy is President Truman's personal chief of staff, serving in the same capacity as under the late President Roosevelt. As such he participated in the Potsdam conferences. He is also the former American ambassador to France, having been accredited to Vichy from January 1941 to April 1942. It is evident that his interests and activities are not limited to military matters.

Leahy's intervention in Petain's treason trial in order to defend France's arch-war criminal is a political act. His effort to depict Petain as anti-Nazi and his statement that the Marshal's "principal concern was the welfare and protection of the helpless people of France" are an insult to the memories of the heroic Frenchmen—and Americans—who have died fighting all that Petain and his master, Hitler, stood for. This insult is not diminished by Leahy's attempt to make it appear that he disagreed with Petain's servile yielding to the Axis. It was Petain and his accomplices who showed their concern for the French people by delivering thousands of patriots into the hands of the Gestapo executioners. It was Petain who sentenced De Gaulle to death. It was Petain who ordered his minions in North Africa to resist the American and British liberating armies. It was Petain who overthrew the French republic and established a fascist state sprinkled with

clerical holy water. It was Petain who even in the hour of Germany's doom refused to break with the Nazis and sought refuge among them from his own people.

The Leahy letter, dated, ironically, on the fourth anniversary of the Nazi invasion of Russia, is a blot on the Potsdam Declaration and will shake the confidence of the peoples of Europe in the purposes of the American government. For President Truman to retain this pro-fascist as a close adviser is to compromise his administration in the eyes of the entire democratic world.

Culture for the World

THE State Department has now published the draft proposals for an Educational and Cultural Organization of the United Nations, prepared by the Conference of Allied Ministers of Education in London. It is an enlightened proposal based on the recognition, in its own words, "that cooperation in education and the furtherance of cultural interchange in the arts, the humanities and the sciences will promote the freedom, the dignity and the well-being of all, and therefore assist in the attainment of understanding, confidence, security and peace among the peoples of the world." The scope of the proposed organization, which shall consist of a conference—a representative body to which the participating organizations shall send delegates—to meet annually, with an elected executive board and a permanent secretariat, has the richest of possibilities. Its essential functions are declared to be to "facilitate consultation among leaders in the educational and

cultural life of all peace-loving peoples," to "assist the free flow of ideas and information among the peoples of the world through schools, universities and other educational and research institutions, libraries, publications and the press, radio and the motion picture, international conferences and the exchange of students, teachers and all other representatives of educational and cultural life, with special attention to the exchange of information on major educational and cultural developments, including advances in scientific knowledge." It is to promote programs within the participating countries supporting peace and security, to "develop and make available" cultural materials, "conduct and encourage research" on educational and cultural programs "related to maintaining peace and the advancement of human welfare," and finally, to "assist countries that need and request help in developing their educational and cultural activities." In a word, it provides the basis for an organ that can immensely enrich the lot of mankind everywhere.

But these proposals, like many others that are the fruits of the great efforts of the democratic peoples of this time, can produce much or little, depending on how they are implemented. The State Department has asked for thorough public discussion of the draft before the final sessions in November to draw up the constitution, and much of its eventual success will depend on just how widely understood and supported these proposals become in the intervening period. Much will especially depend upon the USA as the wealthiest of the participating nations, and one with great

potential contributions. Much will also depend on how clearly the people will make known their will to participate in such a wide cultural project. For this program will be fought by the same old enemies of enlightenment and culture, in many devious ways, and it will take vigilance, knowledge and unmistakable public enthusiasm to bring America's contribution to the high standard of our potential in such an undertaking.

Breadlines?

AS THE reconversion situation stands today a speedy victory over Japan will be marred by mass unemployment and economic confusion that may well lead into a grave depression. Organized labor has been warning the nation of this danger for over a year. Franklin D. Roosevelt saw the gathering clouds and took preliminary measures to combat the perils, but up to now no adequate steps have been taken to prepare the nation for the transition to peacetime production. The latest analysis of the situation comes in the fourth annual report of the Mead Senate Committee investigating the national defense program (former Truman Committee) which states that "should the war in the Pacific end soon, it will find us largely unprepared to overcome our domestic problems." The ensuing large-scale unemployment which the committee foresees will not only be tragic punishment for millions of war workers and their families, but also a potent economic force that will "seriously interfere with the achieving of prosperity."

The Mead report finds the chief weakness in the reconversion picture to be the absence of overall planning and central authority. The Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, set up by FDR with James F. Byrnes as its first director, "must plan and issue orders and not confine itself to umpiring disputes." The report calls for granting the OWMR authority to coordinate all reconversion planning and executive power to act. It is unfortunate that the recommendations overlook the vital legislative measures essential to safeguard the human side of reconversion.

It is all too obvious that the urgent warning of the Mead Committee fell on the deaf ears of Congressmen occupied with planning their two-month vacation. Pending their return to their deserted posts the responsibility for emergency measures rests now with President Truman. The President, whose views on reconversion are sound



We are deeply conscious of the loss we have suffered through the untimely death on Tuesday, July 31, of David McKelvy White, Executive Secretary of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Friends of Republican Spain are grieved that David White, who was a machine gunner in the International Brigade in Spain and later through his organizational activities, contributed so much to the aid of that brave country, will be unable to carry on until the fight is won. Mr. White contributed to New Masses on many occasions. Next week we will print a profile of him by a member of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

but whose actions to date are not impressive, can do much through energetic executive measures to correct the irresponsible complacency of men like J. A. Krug, chairman of the War Production Board, who has urged reliance on natural economic forces to tide us over the reconversion period. And centralized planning and direction of the reconversion process, to be truly effective, requires the active participation of the labor movement. The CIO's proposal of a national production council and industry councils, in which labor, management and the government shall be represented, remains the best plan for achieving an orderly transition to peacetime production.

Congress Fiddles

THE right to work as formulated in the Murray full employment bill and expressed in the popular demand for 60,000,000 jobs constitutes the cen-

tral domestic war aim of the American people. The British people likewise placed full employment in the forefront of their postwar aims when they elected their Labor government. Senator Pepper in his recent speech to the Senate put it succinctly when he said: "The people want—nay, they demand—that we have full employment in peace as well as in war. This is the demand of the returning veterans as well as the war workers at home . . . the people are on the march."

Senator Pepper reflected the mounting volume of popular insistence that the Murray bill be adopted. At the preliminary Senate hearings on the bill last week Senator Wagner voiced similar views in urging its passage. But the opening session of the hearings also revealed, as might have been expected, that a number of large employers have already placed themselves on record against the bill on the grounds that "private enterprise" requires a substantial pool of unemployed and that full employment is a "Communist doctrine." Organized labor as yet has had no opportunity to state its views at the hearings. But organized labor is conducting a nationwide campaign in the factories and communities to bring pressure on Congress to pass the full employment bill, the emergency unemployment insurance, and the sixty-five cent minimum pay law.

We must also insist that Congress return to Washington promptly and discharge its responsibilities to the nation. There is no reason why members of Congress should enjoy a two-month vacation with pay when thousands of their countrymen are bleeding in the Pacific, when scores of thousands of their constituents are being laid off, and when the national economy is on the verge of crisis. Either President Truman or the congressional leaders can call Congress back to work.

Here and There

SALUTE to the 969th Field Artillery Battalion, made up of Negro enlisted men, which received a presidential citation for its historic nine-day stand at Bastogne.

- Congratulations to Dr. Cornelia T. Snell, chemical engineer, who became the first woman chairman of the New York section of the American Chemical Society.

- Applause for the outstanding young American composer, William M. Schuman, who at the age of thirty-five was appointed head of America's great conservatory, the Juilliard School of Music.



WHAT THE JAPANESE ARMY FACES

WHILE a curious world was expecting the Potsdam communique to divulge "sensational" agreements concerning the future role of the USSR in the struggle against Japan, the lengthy 7,500-word document devoted only twenty-two words to something which might be construed as having a bearing on the Pacific war. The last paragraph of the communique said: "During the conference there were meetings between the chiefs of staff of the three governments on military matters of common interest."

It would seem that "matters of common interest" connected with military occupation activities in Europe would have been discussed by the respective commanders of the forces of occupation. The Chiefs of Staff obviously discussed something bigger. Irrespective of the role the Soviet Union is destined to play in the war against Japan, it has an "interest" in the matter. The "interest" is to destroy fascism wherever it is to be found and to insure peace. Thus, say what you may and as you wish in diplomatic language, the Soviet people are interested in the destruction of Japanese feudal militarism and modern imperialism. Much more interested in this than in a railroad or a port in the northern part of China.

The sympathies of the Soviet people in the struggle now going on have been definitely expressed in many ways. Premier Stalin has called Japan "an aggressor nation" in an official speech. The Red Army has been conducting large scale maneuvers along its Far Eastern border this spring and summer. The Soviet press and its military commentators have been giving a pretty realistic picture of Japan's military plight to their readers. There was a small, but highly characteristic item in the press: the Soviet military command in Berlin "advised" a German opera company not to produce Puccini's *Madam Butterfly* for the time being. Now, Russians love Puccini, as they love all good music, but . . . Cho-Cho-San in the opera is Japanese and *right*, while the naval officer is American and *wrong*. And so it was a matter of courtesy to the American allies of the

Soviet Union as well as of expressing once more on what side Soviet sympathy lies. And then—look at the film of the May Day parade in Moscow and you will see the splendid isolation in which the Japanese military attache watches the proceedings. So much for the psychology of the Soviet attitude toward Japan. However, the Chiefs of Staff did not discuss parades and opera. Other "matters of common interest" occupied them. One of them, and perhaps the only one, was the Japanese army, which is the only branch of the Japanese Imperial Service which is still almost intact. This army is in the process of being checkmated, cornered in Manchuria and North China.

The Japanese army is psychologically concerned. Traditionally it was *not for a big oceanic war, but for a big continental war* (Max Werner). The famous Tanaka memorandum of the twenties set out to prove that China must be conquered before Siberia, and Siberia—before the world. This meant first and foremost a big continental war. General Tojo, an army man, advocated publicly in 1938 a two-front war against China and the Soviet Union. This resulted in the "trial wars" of 1938 and 1939 against the Soviet Union, wars which had such dire results for the Japanese (not that their losses were decisively heavy, but their "nerve" was broken for any future attack on the Red Army). However, some time later, the Japanese navy, the army's aristocratic and traditional rival, stepped in with a plan for a big oceanic war. The navy was going to get for the army and its future continental conquests all the natural resources of the south. In acquiescing to the attack on Pearl Harbor the Japanese army leadership completely defeated its own plan and reversed its doctrine. It can be rightly accused of "tailism" in relation to the navy.

The Japanese navy has utterly failed in the execution of its plan for a big oceanic war. In fact the oceanic war has come back to Japan's Inner Sea. Instead of the Hawaiians, Honshu is being attacked. Kiska has moved to Paramushiro, the Gilberts have gone to Okinawa and the Solomons have shifted

to Borneo. In a long process beginning in the Coral Sea more than three years ago and through a series of practically unbroken air-sea victories by American arms the Japanese navy has been reduced to the sorry shadow of itself.

Our Assistant Secretary of the Navy said the other day: "The Japanese do not have a single battleship in operation. They probably have two or three carriers that may be operational, but they are no longer a serious threat. If the Jap fleet has three cruisers left that can still steam, I'd be very much surprised. . . ."

Even discounting Mr. Artemus L. Gates' optimism somewhat, there is not the slightest doubt that what is left of the Imperial Fleet is no damn good for an oceanic war. It is good for the temporary defense of the communications across the Japan and Yellow Seas—no more. It is nothing but a sort of "rear echelon" to the Japanese continental army.

Thus "the wind has returned upon its circles" and the Japanese army is again the "main thing." However, it is not what it was in the glorious days of the Tanaka-Tojo doctrine simply because it has lost its freedom of action. It can strike for the rice of the "Chinese bowl," it can carry through small scale maneuvering between the railroad corridor and the coast of China. It can ship a few divisions to the home island or shuttle them to Korea and Manchuria, but it has been robbed of its strategic initiative. It is cornered in the northern continental theater. The words "checkmate" are ringing in its ears.

What robbed the Japanese army of that initiative? Several factors. First, *having for years prepared for a continental war and then embarked on an oceanic war*, it was faced with a discrepancy in means. It simply did not have the means for waging a modern amphibious war (which needs aircraft carriers in great numbers, special craft and weapons, special planes, etc.). It squandered its fleet and its air force in "oceanic attempts." Now it cannot shift back to the production of weapons for continental war.

Second, our advance to the doorstep

of Japan and to within striking distance of the China coast has almost cut the communications between Japan and the southern half of its loot-empire where between half a million and a million Japanese troops are virtually cut off and are bound to be abandoned to their fate by their generals. Thus the Japanese army is not only left without the necessary power for a *modern* land war, but is doomed to awaiting the final blow in a theater not of its own choosing. In other words, it cannot maneuver strategically any more and meet its opponents where it wishes. It must stay between the Yangtze (or the Yellow River) and the Amur. In 1945 Japan is back almost where she was in 1937 and soon will be back where she was in 1931.

Third, the Japanese army is deprived of strategic initiative by the fact that the Soviet Union is victorious over Germany and free to move as many troops as she wishes to the Manchu and Mongolian border. If even during the days of the Battles of Moscow and Stalingrad, the Soviet Union had enough troops in the Far East to ward off an attack by forty to forty-five percent of the Japanese army, how much less favorable is Japan's situation in the north today. The Japanese army cannot move a single battalion from the Soviet and Mongolian borders from now until the day of the final reckoning. These are the reasons for the "checkmate" the Japanese army is experiencing.

We don't know what the exact tenor of the Chiefs of Staff discussions in Potsdam was, but it seems certain that the question of the "silent threat" of the Far Eastern Red Banner Armies, as well as the intensity of that threat (including probably some psychological warfare emanating from Chita and Khabarovsk) were high on the agenda of the military men at Potsdam. Marshal Zhukov, the conqueror of the Japanese at Khalkingol in 1939, might have had some weighty advice to give for he is the only commander of a modern army who has come to grips in modern mobile warfare with the Japanese, and defeated them.

The presence of the Red Army on Japan's flank and rear is the factor which will determine the strength of the Japanese garrison in the caves of the homeland, on Formosa and in China. It certainly will cut that strength by half. Thus the Soviet Union, though not at war, is one of the decisive strategic factors in the coming battle against the enemy "northern redoubt," just as the Soviet Union, while not at war with Germany in 1940 was the determining

Streicher's Shadow in the Senate

SENATOR THEODORE G. BILBO of Mississippi is today something more than a particularly repulsive representative of southern lynch-rope *Kultur*. He has become a symbol of that fascist way of life against which millions are fighting in this greatest war in history. His is the face of the faceless men who have trampled on every human value and tried to build a new barbarism on the ruins of civilization. That is why Bilbo today is an issue far greater than his personal capacity for evil. For the fact is that if we do not strike down the fascism of the Bilboes, we have won only a partial victory over the fascism of Hitler and Mussolini.

To his racist Senate speeches and his record of filibustering against the Fair Employment Practice Committee, against anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation, Bilbo has recently added letters of insult to American men and women, attacking Negroes, Jews and the foreign-born. Those letters, which might have been ghosted by Goebbels, have been inserted in the *Congressional Record* at public expense—and with the unanimous consent of Bilbo's colleagues. They are providing subversive, anti-Semitic groups with fresh ammunition against American democracy.

A storm is rising against this man Bilbo. It is rising from all parts of the country, including the South where newspapers like the Macon, Ga., *News*, the Richmond, Va., *Times Dispatch*, the New Orleans *Item*, and the Chattanooga *Times*, and groups like the Southern Methodist Women's Organization have spoken up against Bilbo. In New York the National Maritime Union has demanded action against him, Joseph T. Sharkey, vice president of the City Council, has introduced a resolution condemning Bilbo, and the Mississippi Senator has been denounced by various public figures including Brig. Gen. William O'Dwyer, Democratic and American Labor candidate for mayor. One of the recipients of a scurrilous Bilbo letter, Miss Josephine Piccolo of Brooklyn, whom he addressed as "Dago," has also been getting letters of support from individuals and organizations in various parts of the country.

At this writing, however, though several members of the House of Representatives have lashed out at the Mississippi fuehrer, only one United States Senator, H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, has criticised him. In fact, Bilbo was actually included in a recent informal luncheon of a group of progressive Senators who discussed pending legislative problems.

This complacency must be ended. It reflects an attitude in high quarters not only toward Bilbo, but toward fifth columnists and spreaders of hate doctrine as a whole. It is this attitude which is responsible for the delay in retrying the twenty-six indicted seditionists who are continuing to do the enemy's work in time of war. It is this attitude which has permitted fascists like Gerald L. K. Smith and groups like the Ku Klux Klan to carry on with impunity and to prepare for bigger business when the war ends.

Bilbo can be stopped. He can be expelled from the Senate by a two-thirds vote of that body. Or he can be impeached by two-thirds majorities of both the House and the Senate. The members of the Senate should learn from their constituents that they cannot evade this responsibility. Bilbo must go!

factor in the so-called Battle of Britain.

And so, dear reader, the twenty-two words of the Potsdam communique which maybe disappointed you are pre-

nant with things that will have a direct bearing on the reduction of possible American casualties between now and V-J Day.



REVIEW and COMMENT

SUMMER READING

The Father of Democracy

THE YOUNG JEFFERSON, by Claude G. Bowers. Houghton Mifflin. \$3.75.

THE third in point of publication, though the first in strict biographical order, this volume apparently completes what is surely the best work in its specific field and one of the great works in American biographical literature. I am not equipped to pass upon the fine points of Mr. Bowers' use and interpretation of his documentary material. As biographer he tends to the other extreme of the debunking school, and it is obvious that to give full effect to his portrait he has done some arbitrary arrangement of background and lighting. But equally obvious is the fact that the likeness is from life.

In his preface to *The Young Jefferson* Mr. Bowers writes: "It is during this period of his life that it is possible to present the Jefferson of flesh and blood, the human being, for he is more intimately revealed during these younger years before he was so completely absorbed in political controversies. To most Americans, including historians, he has been a symbol, a flag, a steel engraving, a philosopher in an ivory tower, or, more often, a cunning politician spinning his web of intrigue in dark corners. I have tried here to rescue a very human being from the wilderness of myth and fable."

For a literary analyst with the three volumes of this Jefferson biography before him, this suggests an interesting study in the literary means to make a biographical subject lifelike. Mr. Bowers gives us, here, the Jefferson practicing on the violin and exchanging adolescent enthusiasms over the poems of Ossian; he gives us his hero as lover, husband, father, lavish host, intellectual companion. But these incarnations are done mainly in set descriptions. They lack the movement of opposition which makes the Jefferson of the previous volumes, *Jefferson and Hamilton* and *Jefferson in Power*, so stirring.

Of the three volumes in the series *The Young Jefferson* is the most conventionally biographical and the most conventionally literary. It is of great value for its accumulation of material;

and it is necessary for a rounded evaluation of Jefferson, particularly in its data on the political struggles in Virginia, the training ground for Jefferson's role on the national stage. But the book falls short of its predecessors not only in lifelike realization of its subject but as reconstruction of history.

The unusual distinction and power of *Jefferson and Hamilton* and *Jefferson in Power* was that they were centered on critical political struggles. Not only Jefferson but his antagonist was in full view. And the opposition was full scale. The drama and excitement of conflict gave the characters a living glow. Moreover, the antagonists were such well realized personifications of social forces that, in effect, the works were also vigorous dramatizations of the class struggles of the first generation of the American Republic.

The Young Jefferson, however, dutifully proceeding chronologically and uncentered, as the other volumes were, on critical political struggles, has much less of portraiture *in action*. Mr. Bowers makes as much as, apparently, he can, of the antagonisms Jefferson met and overcame in these earlier years—his struggle with the Tidewater aristocracy that maintained a class rule over early Virginia, with the Episcopal parsonages that sought to secure their vested interests in alliance with the Tidewater landlords, with the opponents of his draft of the Declaration of Independence and with the opponents, active and passive, of the American revolution, etc. Mr. Bowers is also careful to explain the importance and significance of these earlier struggles. These antagonists however lack the proportions and the force of the others. Mr. Bowers feels that they ought to be dramatic and makes adjectival assertions to that effect, but the drama fails to materialize. He accumulates data but it has, too often, no more effect than a string of synonymous adjectives. One feels a limitation of sheer literary skill, and of psychological insights. The latter may be due, here, to Mr. Bowers' conception of Jefferson as a flawless figure, which leads to an excessive gloss of surface, like that which often mars statuary.

But if *The Young Jefferson* is a de-

cline, it is a decline from Mr. Bowers' own eminence. From any other hand it would rank as a work of great distinction. Though in a more limited form, he still presents Jefferson mainly in terms of political struggles. And it remains his great contribution here to see these struggles as keys both to Jefferson's life and to America's history.

Another virtue of Bowers' great biography, in its wholeness, is that it helps to make clear the continuity of the struggle for democracy. Democracy must be maintained, as well as won, by struggle; and the struggle, though the same in essence, constantly changes in form.

In common with the English political philosophers who were his inspiration Jefferson, for example, saw one of the democratic goals in a balance of public powers, executive, legislative and judicial, each limiting the other's possible restraints upon the individual. This applied to the acquisition of property. With opportunities opened to him by the democratic revolution, and with physical space enough on the virgin continent to afford every individual toehold and swinging room, the right to property, then primarily a matter of worked land and earned tradesman's profits, was a democratic right.

The world has changed vastly since then. Space has shrunk and the relations of the individual to society have become more complex. Property has lost its character of individual accumulation, and has been transformed in other significant ways. Thus the terms of the continuing struggle are very different today. But for that struggle, today, Jefferson's adroit and determined fight and his victories can serve us as a guide and inspiration. Giving them so clear a presentation, Mr. Bowers has served the people well.

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

The People of Africa

WHAT DO THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA WANT? by Mrs. Paul Robeson. Council on African Affairs. 10c.

THE war has made us realize to some extent the strategic importance of Africa for resources, but to too many it

still has little definite history and still less a definite future. There is darkness in the popular knowledge of Africa rather than in Africa itself. We are thankful therefore to Mrs. Paul Robeson and the Council on African Affairs for a very readable and informative introduction to the problem of the African people. In twenty-three illustrated pages we are given a glimpse of Africa's past and present contributions to world progress, the treatment of the Africans by their European rulers, and the strivings and accomplishments of the people in their struggle for political and economic democracy.

Africa is one of the least developed of the earth's regions, yet it has tremendous possibilities for development. Only one percent of water power resources potentially greater than that of Europe, North America and South America combined, have as yet been developed, as compared with about twenty-five percent for North America. But more than in any other part of the world such riches belong to foreign exploiters and the native is a stranger in his own land. In South Africa the natives must have a pass to leave the native reserves and work in the cities and towns. They must pay taxes, but they may not vote.

But there are stirrings. There were African representatives to the London Labor Conference. There are political, youth, women's, business, farmers and professional organizations. African soldiers have shed their blood not only in Africa but in Europe and Asia. Can there be any doubt as to what the people of Africa want? HAROLD KIRSHNER.

From the Foxholes

THE BRICK FOXHOLE, by Richard Brooks. Harpers. \$2.50.

SERGEANT NELSON OF THE GUARDS, by Gerald Kersh. Winston. \$2.50.

STRONGER THAN FEAR, by Richard Tregaskis. Random House. \$2.

IDENTITY UNKNOWN, by Robert Newman. Ziff Davis. \$1.

WHISTLE WHILE YOU WAIT, by Fred Howard. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. \$2.50.

OUR American heritage of advertising agency art has taken a cruel revenge. These books about the war are a tribute to the power of the cliché, including the many progressive clichés that have been sprinkled like parsley over these ill-prepared texts.

The most exciting narrative of the five books under review is *The Brick Foxhole*, by a marine. It is based upon the life of boredom led by the barrack soldier. The trick movie finish irritates



Acting Consul General for the USSR Mikhailov (right) as he thanks Paul Manship for the gift of a record of the work of 165 American artists presented in the interest of strengthening cultural ties between the USA and the Soviet Union. The exhibit consisted of more than 1,000 photographic and color reproductions of the works of Thomas A. Benton, Peter Blume, Alexander Brook, David Burluk, Adolph Dehn, Philip Evergood, William Gropper, Minna Harkavy, Joseph Hirsch, Malvina Hoffman, Leon Kroll, Yasuo Kuniyoshi, Julian E. Levy, Manship, Carl Milles, Waldo Pierce, Henry Varum Poor, Boardman Richardson, Norman Rockwell, John Sloan, Max Weber and others, and was collected under the auspices of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

the reader into remembering the bad writing. On one page: "without the bat of an eye" is followed by "when the chips were down." Those phrases might be excused as an attempt at realism, but not "adverbial back-patting." The final citation for bad writing must go to this bit of ersatz Hemingway: "The dog tags tinkled against her. Then there was silence. Jeff took the world in his hand and threw a curve ball at the moon." Richard Wright says in the blurb for this thing that the writing is "muscular." Mr. Brooks still has to learn how to use his muscles.

The rest of the books could be easily dismissed, except that John Lehmann stated during a silly controversy in *Horizon* that Gerald Kersh is one of the writers who have made English wartime writing just as good as the French. This collection of anecdotes strung loosely about the neck of an Army "character" provides enough rope with which to hang Mr. Lehmann. It is bad Kipling, a British version of *Private Hargrove*, and worse, *Beau Geste*.

The Tregaskis book should not rob anyone of two dollars. An issue of the *Infantry Journal* at thirty-five cents will give you five times as much knowledge of small-unit tactics or of the behavior of American officers in combat.

Identity Unknown was made into a Republic picture. The book deserved it.

Whistle While You Wait, a collection of letters from Fred Howard to his wife, will interest you if you've never received any mail from overseas. Otherwise, you will not be interested in people who make love while the shades are up.

BILL AALTO.

After the War

THE FEAR MAKERS, by Darwin L. Teilheit. Appleton-Century. \$2.75.

THIS is a hard hitting novel written in a clipped, masculine style. Its hero, Captain Eaton, returns, wounded, from the Normandy beachhead to find his poll-taking organization, of whose honesty he had been proud, taken over by a racketeering group. As soon as

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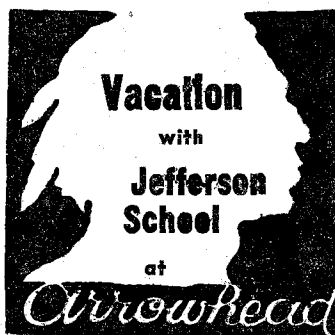
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Eaton recovers he begins investigating. He finds his firm rigging up an election poll in the local industrial center favoring an anti-labor candidate. The unscrupulous use of poll-taking for reactionary purposes is underlined, with its snide wording to slant resentment against unions and to pit returning veterans against organized labor. The way in which anti-Semitism is used for the same purposes is made clear. The story is vigorous and absorbing. Its honesty and narrative power make up for its lack of a deep probing into basic causes. *The Fear Makers* joins the recent, heartening group of progressive novels such as Hart Stillwell's *Border City* and Lester Cohen's *Coming Home* which deal in a vital way with the already emerging postwar America. G. K.

Brief Reviews

NAKED CITY, by Weegee. Essential Books. \$4.

WEEGEE, who has been called "an O. Henry with a camera" and, according to Paul Strand, "has given photography a new meaning," has gathered his *PM* photographs of New York scenes and news personalities into a fascinating volume of photo reproductions. Weegee does his own caption writing and incidental comments, and they are good.

THE TALKING SKYSCRAPER, by Slater Brown. Illustrated in color by Oscar Fabres. Hyperion Press. \$2.

A WRITER of imagination with a natural wit not too subtle for even smaller children has found a very compatible illustrator for his story of a frustrated skyscraper that found an unusual way of getting talked about.

WHO WALK WITH THE EARTH, by Dorsha Hayes. Harpers. \$2.50.

IT is difficult to tell what the author is about in this tedious novel of garment trade unionists. If it was her intention to be sympathetic, her condescension to the Negro, Jewish and Italian workers constitutes a heavy counterbalance; and as a study of the industry it is as confused as it is insensitive.

JOHN HENRY AND THE DOUBLE JOINTED STEAM DRILL, by Irwin Shapiro. Drawings by James Daugherty. Julian Messner. \$1.50.

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THE "Prix de Goncourt," most distinguished of French literary prizes, was awarded to Elsa Triolet, wife of Louis Aragon. The book for which the award was made was *First Hitch Worth Two Hundred Francs*, a title derived from the sign usually found over billiard tables in French cafes.

"THE PLOT AGAINST THE PEACE," by Michael Sayers and Albert E. Kahn, is the latest selection of the Book Find Club.

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PAINTING AND DIALECTICS

By CHARLES ARNAULT

It is unfortunate that painters themselves have not contributed more to the field of Marxist art criticism, rather than leaving it almost entirely to the critic and historian, both of whom tend to be dominated by an approach carried over from literary criticism and only partially applicable to painting. Too, the critic and historian are seldom confronted with the necessity of reconciling theory and practice and translating their ideas into actual creative work, so that the condition which regulates Marxist thought on the political plane, viz., the unity of theory and practice, does not obtain in this field. And the artists, who are logically in the best position to reconcile the two factors, have not been sufficiently convinced of the importance of synthesizing their ideology and every-day practice to elaborate and present in written form any ideas they might have.

Yet, in spite of the apparently almost congenital indifference of most painters to theoretical questions, some of the casual remarks of artists—for example, Picasso, Mondrian, and Siqueiros—contain more Marxism than can be found in whole paragraphs of, say, any one of the studies on painting issued by the Critics Group some years back. For the painter is faced with the task of making a painting and of making a good one. If he is successful, both the creative process and the finished product embody dialectical features. His remarks, then, cannot fail to be significant if they at all clarify the work and the means by which it came about. Following are a few short excerpts to demonstrate the point.

From a statement by Siqueiros: "Good painting, as all art, is a synthesis of contradictory elements—of opposing elements that tend to exclude each other and at the same time to fuse and coordinate . . . the value is the fusion of the objective with the subjective, the union of undefined creation with the materials of craft." Mondrian writes: ". . . horizontal and vertical lines are the expression of opposing forces; they exist everywhere and dominate everything; their reciprocal action constitutes

life." Picasso says: "A picture used to be a sum of additions. In my case a picture is a sum of destructions. I do a picture—then I destroy it. In the end, though, nothing is lost: the red I took away from one place turns up somewhere else." Then again: "When you begin a picture you often make some very pretty discoveries. You must be on guard against these. Destroy the thing, do it over several times. In each destroying of a beautiful discovery the artist does not really suppress it, but rather transforms it, condenses it, makes it more substantial."

Siqueiros' and Mondrian's statements would seem to indicate a connection between dialectics and painting. The quotations from Picasso suggest a link between the creative process and dialectics. Here, apparently, is a whole sphere of investigation which has hardly been touched, a sphere which certainly should be considered within the scope of Marxist analysis. For that matter, it is probably because this aspect of art theory (which might be called the "dialectics of pictorial composition") has not yet been subjected to serious study that Marxist criticism in this field is still in the rather backward state it is today.

PERHAPS the principal stumbling block of the critic or art historian is his tendency to underestimate the significance of form and method in painting, and overestimate, or more accurately, *distort*, the meaning and function of content. Perhaps because he does not have to "sweat out" the creative process, or perhaps because he is basically incapable of responding to a painting in any other than an intellectual way, he concentrates his attention on that which he is most equipped to discuss—"content." In the following few paragraphs I should like to illustrate this particular style of criticism by a purely imaginary example. Any exaggeration is only for the purpose of emphasizing the limitations of the method.

The painting submitted to this approach is a seventeenth-century Dutch masterpiece. It is studied, of course, from the point of view of its social con-

text, in this instance as an expression of the outlook of a rising bourgeoisie. It is a portrait commissioned by a merchant. The man is stern and confident in demeanor, is well dressed but not extravagantly so, at least if compared to the nobility of the time. One hand rests upon a table, a posture which seems to associate him intimately with the objects upon it. These objects include some scientific instruments, an open book, a few coins, and a globe. The book is in Latin, but is a translation of a Greek classic. Through an open window can be seen a harbor and some anchored ships. The painting is realistic in style and rendered in perfect scientific perspective.

Equipped with a knowledge of the period and using historical materialism as a method, the painting can be interpreted as giving an esthetic expression to the following characteristics of the seventeenth-century Dutch bourgeoisie: (1) The developing sense of individuality engendered by capitalism (the subject is an individual, a personality, as well as a type or symbol glorifying his class). (2) Their passion for accumulation—the money on the table, the relative inextricability of the clothes. (3) Their pride in their position in life *vis-a-vis* the other classes of Dutch society (the man's self-assured bearing, his evident pride in the objects around him). (4) Their scientific interests (the instruments and globe, the exact perspective in which the picture is rendered). (5) Their regard for learning and classical culture (the book). (6) Their international, as opposed to provincial, outlook (the globe, the harbor and ships). If the scope of the analysis is widened to include an interpretation of the painting from the standpoint of its esthetic character and style, it is likely to be said that its use of realism and scientific perspective is the plastic equivalent of the materialist outlook of a revolutionary class.

It can be seen that the attention of the critic who makes this kind of analysis is focused almost entirely on the subject matter of the painting, particularly where the subject matter helps to clarify

he content of the work. While there is, of course, nothing wrong with this approach so far as it goes, its ultimate validity is contingent upon carrying the analysis to a further stage, to a consideration of formal questions.

For instance, nothing has been said to indicate why the painting is a masterpiece and continues to move us today apart from its historical associations or apart from the fact that it represents a proud and confident man who is something of a human type. Nothing has been said concerning its qualities of line, color, texture, pattern, distribution of light and shade, its treatment of volume and space. The reader has not been told why these diverse and contrasting elements are so successfully united into a complete plastic organization, into a harmonious yet lively composition. There has not been a word about certain formal and technical aspects which for that day may have represented important contributions to a developing Western painting. Because one reacts to the painting primarily as an esthetic object, it is reasonable that he should like to acquire a better understanding of the abstract laws operating behind this structure. But all he is told about the painting's style and composition is that its realism is the appropriate plastic expression of a materialist world outlook.

THE critic or historian whose experience has been confined pretty much to literature is likely to feel his critical task completed when a painting's social and psychological implications have been unraveled. But to the artist, or to anyone who enjoys a painting for its own pictorial qualities, a picture is of little consequence if it is not in some sense a successful composition. Composition—in other words, form—is always the vehicle through which content must achieve a truly pictorial, as opposed to literary, expression. For instance, if a subject involving the expression of struggle is depicted strictly representationally, in the manner of the casual news photograph, it will almost inevitably lack the dynamic character of the original. True, one recognizes, by a sheer intellectual process, that a struggle is shown, but it is not recreated in pictorial terms. However, if this unmodified image is properly distorted, if the lines are animated, and if the other plastic means are appropriately treated, the struggle may be recreated with something of its original intensity and meaning. In this instance, the artist would emphasize a dynamic use of his pictorial elements—sharp,

jagged lines, contrasting colors, violent clashes of light and dark areas, a staggered arrangement of planes, volumes, etc.

The power of Orozco's paintings, for instance, and the marked degree to which they evoke an atmosphere of social struggle, is explicable not so much by his subjects and symbols but by the way in which he treats them. He creates his effects not so much by how he copies a subject, but by how he distorts it. The clash of diagonally moving plastic forces, lines, planes, etc., is a characteristic device of his for achieving a mood of tension and conflict. In contrast, the static character of Rivera's murals can be traced to the vertical and horizontal emphasis of his compositions.

Specifically, then, what is meant by the "dialectics of pictorial composition"? First, the pictorial process involves a contradiction almost by definition: the contradiction between the three-dimensional character of reality and the two-dimensional character of the picture plane. Seen from this standpoint the extremely realistic painter who strives to ignore the two-dimensionality of the canvas and evoke a completely convincing illusion of reality is proceeding not from the standpoint of materialism but of idealism. In seeking through exact representation to affirm the material character of reality, he is at the same time overlooking the equally material character of the surface of his picture. In other words, the two-dimensionality of the picture plane is a governing condition for painting, so long as painting remains physically two-dimensional.

Therefore, the artist who tries to exploit to the fullest this particular aspect of painting is not he who seeks to bring to his canvas an absolutely convincing three-dimensional illusion, nor is it he who seeks completely to exclude three-dimensional reference from his picture—rather it is he who attempts simultaneously to affirm both the two-dimensionality of the picture plane and the three-dimensional character of reality. An awareness of this contradiction and its many implications in the very essence of painting itself is particularly essential if a correct approach is to be made to the contemporary abstract schools and if what is valid and progressive in their point of view is to be appreciated.

Apart from the contradiction between the planar picture surface and three-dimensional reality, the successive ways in which it has been resolved reveal a more than accidental sequence. In its archaic period Greek painting was decorative and two-dimen-

sional in style. Later this style was followed by another embodying a realism and rudimentary application of scientific perspective, a style disparagingly referred to by Plato as "shadow painting." The Byzantine mosaic was neither as flat as early Grecian painting nor was it rendered in scientific perspective; it introduced yet another, and extremely subtle, approach to the space problem of painting. The Renaissance artists revived and perfected scientific, linear perspective. Contemporary abstract painting is an extreme negation of Renaissance realism and scientific perspective.

It is not my intention to attempt a detailed evaluation of these various approaches to the problem of space representation in painting, nor less to assert that any one of them is the pinnacle of pictorial achievement deserving perpetual emulation. That would be the epitome of metaphysical thinking. Yet it can be said that the general trend of this development has been in the direction of an intensification of the two- and three-dimensional opposition with the result that its successful resolution presents an ever more difficult problem.

Cezanne can be taken as an example. As is commonly known, the Impressionists reacted against the Renaissance tradition in favor of a more colorful, decorative, and two-dimensional style, being partly influenced in this respect by contact with Oriental art. Cezanne was drawn to Impressionism because of its color, but was dissatisfied with its unrelieved flatness and lack of solidity. He sought a style which would retain the color, and in a subtle sense, the flatness, of Impressionism, but would combine them with the solidity of old master paintings. The fact that he was so relatively successful in his striving to reconcile these extreme oppositions account in large part for the master works so much admired today. An important difference between Cezanne and the abstract painters who came after him is that the latter have made greater concessions to the picture plane, carrying the comparatively moderate distortions Cezanne was forced to adopt to extremes which he would probably reject if he were living today.

From the example of Mondrian we see that line, isolated as a pictorial element, can be divided into its vertical and horizontal oppositions. Beyond this there are other and more dynamic divisions—diagonal, curved, jagged, and all of the other possible qualities and combinations of line. What is true of line also applies to the other pictorial

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AUGUST, 1945

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elements—color, texture, pattern, light and shade, planes, volumes, etc. Each element has its opposing aspects within itself and also functions in opposition to other elements. Taken as a whole a composition can be said to have its static and dynamic aspects, certain parts playing perhaps a more static, and others a more dynamic, role, but none playing entirely a single role. The ultimate effect of the whole composition must be one of asymmetric balance, of static tension, or may be defined by any combination of words which conveys the idea of the unity of rest and motion and the fusion of opposites. It is for this reason that the "laws" of composition will, in the last analysis be found to be dialectical in character. And it is also for this reason that a good painting, while it may not be a realistic representation of nature, is an embodiment of the same laws which operate throughout natural phenomena. It is an equivalent, not a superficial imitation, of nature. It is a materialization of dialectical laws worked out in terms of the potentialities, as well as the limitations, of the pictorial medium.

Painting must also be studied from the standpoint of its evolution from a relatively simple to a more complex mode of expression. Seen in this light, Renaissance art, considered by many superficial and decadent when compared to the Byzantine mosaics, was at least historically inevitable. It should be remembered that an essential aspect of matter is its multiplicity of forms and its tendency to evolve from the simple to the complex. Realism, such as dominated the Renaissance, introduced complexity into painting (though it does not mechanically follow that the great variety of pictorial material implied by realism is in every instance thoroughly integrated as a composition—this is rather the exception). But assume, on the other hand, that a particular master such as Cezanne has succeeded in forging a unified composition from a multiplicity of lines, colors, volumes, planes, etc., abstracted from a penetrative analysis of reality. The result is a complex organization in which the opposition of unity and diversity functions at extreme polarity. Another important difference between Cezanne and some of the abstract painters who followed is that the latter have sacrificed his complexity in favor of a greater emphasis on unity and perfection of composition. In other words, their achievements are generally realized on a lower level of complexity. This, indeed, is the best answer to the

art of Mondrian, which might otherwise seem to have summarized and exhausted the art of painting itself—i.e., the endless mission of painting is to seek perfection on ever higher levels of complexity of organization.

It seems to me that too many Marxist critics evidence a scarcely concealed prejudice against the formal aspects of art, "formalism" being one of their favorite epithets. This is probably because of these critics' tendency to think of form as something absolute, universal, and unchanging in the history of art; as a bag of tricks and devices from which the artists of different periods select the most appropriate means of presenting the content of their inspirations. Actually, the formal aspects of art undergo transfiguration along with content. The nature and direction of these changes are dictated both by changes within society and by the potentialities for development inherent within the pictorial medium itself. Only when form is understood as being dialectical in character, as playing a constantly dynamic role in painting, and as something which undergoes progressive change in itself will Marxism finally realize all of its possibilities in the field of art criticism.

The Communists

(Continued from page 6)

The press has published Mr. Browder's final statement at the convention that he withdrew his charges of "revisionism" against the discussion and that he declared there had taken place "a consolidation of our ranks on the foundation of correct Marxist-Leninist concepts." The National Board, in reply, said, however, "You still do not repudiate your former position; you evade expressing either agreement with or taking a direct position on the Resolution that has been adopted by the Convention or on Comrade Foster's report on the struggle against revisionism." The Board asked for a prompt clarification of his position.

In brief, these are some of the highlights of this remarkable convention. Its lessons are profound, far-reaching, and merit full study of all Marxists and their friends. It did not solve all the issues before the delegates, but it made real headway. And in conclusion one must emphasize the genuine unity that grew out of the intense discussion of the past two months. The Communists had made a basic turn in policy, and retained the monolithic quality of their organization. As Mr. Foster indicated, they had made this turn, rapidly, in

unity, because the previous policy had not eaten deep into the party structure; many could not fundamentally bring themselves to believe it. They accepted it formally, out of loyalty to the concept of unity. Secondly, the events of history in the recent weeks had discredited the basic assumptions of the past policy, and finally, when true democracy within the movement found full expression, the Marxist intelligence of the membership reasserted itself, and brought the necessary turn.

As editor of NEW MASSES I personally felt keenly the truths of the convention. We, too, on NEW MASSES have unconsciously been affected by the infiltration of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas which affected our way of work and thought. We had failed to be sufficiently searching of our mistakes; had lapsed into faulty approaches and modes of thinking. Our Marxist scalpel had acquired rust. This was evidenced, as some of our readers have pointed out, in our recent editorial statement which glossed over our errors and responsibilities. I can only say that we shall do everything within our capacities to rectify our mistakes, to surmount our weaknesses. We urge our readers' fullest cooperation, for this is a process that will not be terminated with the close of the discussion, with the bang of the gavel that closed the convention. For so long as we live and think within the ambience of the most powerful capitalist nation on earth, nefarious pressures will continue, and all of us—editors and readers, too—must constantly be on our guard. These are but a few of the realities the Communist discussion pressed upon all Marxists. We can only be grateful that it happened now, before it was too late.

Cartels

(Continued from page 16)

American trade expansion, at the same time favors inter-government agreements of the cartel type in certain raw materials. Cartels, even government-sponsored or initiated, are favored when they prove useful in disposing of surplus stocks or in obtaining a greater American share of strategic and industrial raw materials, many of which had been monopolized by Britain and other countries. Cartels are opposed when they tend to hamper the drive for a greater share of the world market. As in the case of world air traffic and telecommunications, or in the field of world trade and foreign capital investment, government intervention is sought to "unify" policy and to aid expansion.

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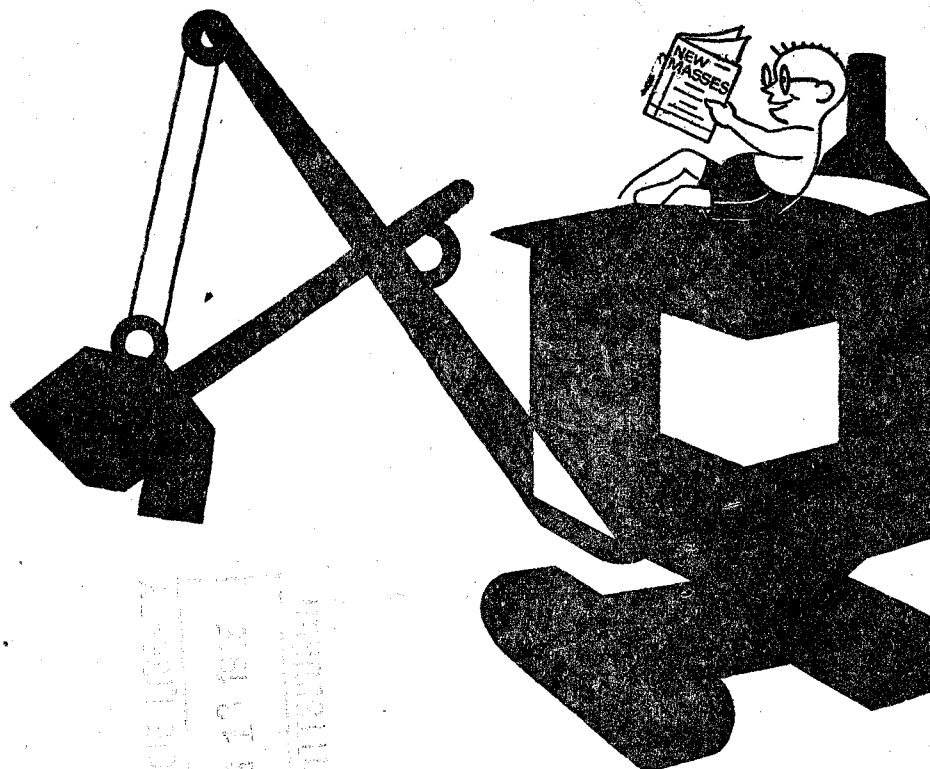
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